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DER NAME UND DIE SAGEN DES JORDAN IN ALTKANAANÄISCHER ZEIT

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VON EBERHARD HOMMEL, Schopflohe a. R., Bayern

Woher kommt der Name des altberühmten Jordanflusses, der, in allen Schichten des hebräischen Schrifttums vorkommend (u. zw. meist mit dem Artikel ha-Jarden gesetzt), in den alten religiösen Erinnerungen des Volkes Israel, im Leben der Patriarchen, besonders des Jakob, im Leben des Moses, beim Durchgang durch den Jordan, bei der Einnahme des Landes, im Debora-Lied, in den Geschichten von Elia und Elisa, in der Dichtung der Psalmen und des Buches Hiob in der Behemoth-Episode und wiederum im Neuen Testament im Leben Johannes des Täuflers und bei Jesu Taufe eine so wichtige religiöse Rolle spielt?

Ich übergehe die herkömmlichen Ableitungen des Hieronymus von Jor (bzw. J: 'or „Fluß“) und Dan, dem Quellfluß des Jordan, heute von den Arabern ed-Dan oder el-Leddān genannt; der dunkle o-Vokal in der ersten Silbe in griech. Ἰορδάνης und lat. Jordanes der Vulgata, des Hieronymus, Tacitus und anderen ist sekundärer Lautwandel im Palästinisch-Aramäischen und Mandäischen.¹ Das anlautende Jod kann (wie wir sehen werden) aus ursprünglichem w- entstanden sein. Das j- kann aber auch, wie im Babylonisch-Assyrischen, in bloßes Aleph übergehen (Spiritus lenis), so im Arabischen, Urdunnu „Jordan“. Ich übergehe zunächst auch die Ableitung vom Semitischen, *jarad* hinabsteigen, hinabfließen, da ich annehme, daß der Flußname vorisraelitisch und vielleicht auch vorsemitisch ist.

Der Name Jordan ist auch Ortsname: Josephus nennt als südlichen Punkt von Judäa das Dorf Ἰορδάν oder Ἰαρδάν an der

¹ BROCKELMANN, *Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Sammlung Göschen, S. 87, § 131 (Leipzig 1906).

Grenze von Arabien² und ein anderesmal einen Wald $\delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'Ιαρδης, in dem wohl der gleiche Name enthalten ist.

Für die Deutung und Geschichte des Namens Jordan hat uns der bekannte englische Forscher und erste Herausgeber der Oden Salomos RENDEL HARRIS den Weg gewiesen. In einem anregenden, aber bei uns wohl wenig bekannt gewordenen Aufsatz „Crete, the Jordan and the Rhone“ in der Edinburgher theologischen Zeitschrift *Expository Times*³ wies er im Anschluß an FICKS „Vorgriechische Ortsnamen“ verschiedene Spuren alten kretischen Einflusses im Rhonetal nach und zeigte, daß der Name des Flusses selbst mit zweien seiner Nebenflüsse namens Vardo oder Vardon (heute Gardon bei Avignon) auf eine Form Vardanos zurückgehen müsse und in letzter Linie mit dem kretischen Fluß Jardanos im Kydonenland, den schon die Odyssee (γ 292) nennt, zu identifizieren sei, wie denn auch im Semitischen ein Jod (im Anlaut) häufig aus älterem *w*- entstehe. Er hält eine Deutung des Flußnamens durch das armenisch-persisch-arabische *ward* „Rose“ für möglich.⁴

Zu dem kretischen Jardanos-Vardanos in Südgallien und auf Kreta bei den Kydonen müsse man aber auch (mit FICK) den peloponnesischen Jardanos in Elis, den die Ilias mit einer Stadt Φειά nennt (H 135), und ebenso den lydischen Fluß Jardanos stellen, den Stephan von Byzynz erwähnt und dessen Name (wohl als Flußgott) als Vater der Omphale aus der lydischen Heraklessage bekannt ist. RENDEL HARRIS nimmt weiter noch mit Recht an, daß dann auch alle diese verwandten Flußnamen Rhodanos-Vardanos und Jardanos ursprünglich einem und demselben Volk und einer Kultur, u. zw., wie er damals vermutete, der hethitischen, angehören müssen, die von Kreta aus sich ins Rhonetal verbreitet hat, doch ließ er die Entscheidung der weiteren Forschung offen.

² ERWIN NESTLE, *Judäa bei Josephus*, Diss. Tübingen, Halle 1911, S. 12.

³ *Expository Times* XXI, 1910, p. 303—306. — A. FICK, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, Göttingen 1905, S. 16. Über kretische Einflüsse im Rhonegebiet (nach Steph. v. Byz.), siehe auch schon KLAUSEN, *Aeneas und die Penaten* I, S. (433 ff.) 438.

⁴ Ein anderer Rosenfluß ist das Wadi Wardan im Sinaigebiet. Auch sonst gibt es mehrere Wadi-el-ward, so eines zwischen Jerusalem und Jaffa nahe der Bahn. Eine Rosenhöhle Mparat-warda ist am oberen Nordgehänge des Jabbok im 'Aglun unweit Gerasa, wie mir Herr Baurat SCHUMACHER (Schwäbisch-Gmünd, gest. 1925 in Palästina) mitteilte. Dort finden sich Eisenerze, in römischer Zeit abgebaut, und Dämonen, „ḡl“, sollen darin hausen.

An diese Beobachtungen von AUGUST FICK und RENDEL HARRIS anknüpfend, will ich in folgendem zeigen, daß hier wirklich ein alter Zusammenhang zwischen dem Jarden oder Jordan Palästinas und dem Jardanos und Rhodanos der genannten Mittelmeerländer vorliegt, der durch zahlreiche Zeugnisse und Sagen der Alten glänzend bestätigt wird.

Der Rhodanos wird in den Heliaden des Äschylus und bei mehreren anderen Klassikern dem sagenberühmten mystischen Fluß Eridanos gleichgesetzt.⁵ Dieser kosmische Fluß, von der Mehrzahl der Zeugen im fernen Westen am Rande des Ozeans gesucht oder als Po gedeutet, von Vergil (Aen. VI, 659)⁶ in die Unterwelt, von den Astronomen und Dichtern, wie Aratos, an den Sternenhimmel versetzt, ist untrennbar mit der Sage von Phaethon, dem Sohn des Sonnengottes, verknüpft, der brennend in seine Fluten vom Sonnenwagen herabfällt und stirbt, ja der Held der Sage heißt selbst Eridanos, wie andererseits auch der Fluß Phaethon genannt wird.⁷

Nun läßt sich zeigen, daß die Sage von Phaethon seit alters in Palästina wohl bekannt war und gerade auch mit dem Jordan in Verbindung gebracht wurde, dessen Name uns dann noch näher mit dem Eridanos als mit dem ebenfalls verwandten, aber örtlich weiter entfernten Rhodanos in Beziehung zu stehen scheint. Die Beweise, unter denen ich zuerst die alttestamentlichen Anspielungen auf die Phaethonsage und dann die direkten phönizischen und griechischen Zeugnisse nennen will, sind folgende:

I.

Man hat längst in dem He(j)lel, dem Sohn der Morgenröte in der bekannten Jesaiastelle 14, 12: „Wie bist du vom Himmel gefallen, He(j)lel, du Sohn der Schahar!“, in jenem Hejlel, den die Griechen und die Vulgata mit Heosphoros, bzw. mit Luzifer, übersetzen, eine Anspielung auf die Erzählung vom Fall des Satans und der Engel (Jud. 6; 2. Petr. 2, 4), so auch eine Beziehung zu dem griechischen Phaethon gesehen, der nur eine griechische

⁵ Plinius h. n. 37, 11. BANGERT, *De fabula Phaethontea*, Diss. Halle 1885, p. 8. Wenn Äschylus den Rhonefluß in Iberien sucht, so ist zu beachten, daß Iberer einst bis zur Rhone und Seine sich erstreckten: D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe* I, p. 30. 365. Thukyd. 6, 2. 2.

⁶ Vgl. Serv. *ad loc.*, Dieterich, *Nekyia*.

⁷ BANGERT a. a. O., p. 33. Serv. Aen., VI, 659.

Übersetzung des semitisch-hebräisch-phönizischen Hejlel, „der Strahlende, Glänzende“, ist.⁸ Die Beziehung des Phaethon zu den Sternen ist mannigfach. Bei Homer und Hesiod (Theog. 759) ist Phaethon Epitheton der Sonne, in der Odyssee (ψ 246) heißt so das Roß der Eos, bei Hesiod ist Phaethon als Sohn der Eos (wie bei Jesaia der Schahar) Tempelwart der Aphrodite,⁹ bei den Späteren Name eines Planeten, u. zw. des Jupiter oder des Saturn (Hyg. poet. astron. II, 42).¹⁰ Auch das Alte Testament (Hi. 38, 7) kennt ja mehrere Morgensterne.

II.

Das Hauptattribut des Phaethon, der Sonnenwagen, eine Art von Merkaba (= der Gotteswagen Hesek. 1 und 10), mit den Sonnenrossen, die Josia in Jerusalem abschaffen ließ, war mindestens in der Zeit der Könige von Juda vor Josia schon bekannt. In dem David zugeschriebenen Ps. 19 muß dagegen der Sonnenheld als Läufer seinen Weg noch zu Fuß machen, während in Ps. 139, 9 wie in Maleachi 3, 20 die Morgenröte als Vorläuferin der Sonne selbst sich hierzu der Flügel bedient.

In späterer Zeit schildern den Sonnenwagen am Himmel das äthiop. (und slav.) Henochbuch,¹¹ als von Winden (= Geistern, hebr. *ruah* hat beide Bedeutungen) getrieben, und ausführlicher noch die griechische Baruch-Apokalypse c. 6f., wo der Lenker des Wagens eine Feuerkrone auf dem Haupt trägt, und mit ihm als Trabant und Vorläufer zieht der Sonnenvogel Phönix herum. Man wird daran erinnert, daß gerade am Ufer des Jordan-Eridanos auf dem feurigen Wagen und Rossen, den zu besteigen Phaethon-Satan-Hejlel nicht würdig gewesen war, der Prophet zum Himmel aufsteigen durfte (2. Kön. 2, 11; vgl. 6, 17). Die Vorstellung von einem Sonnenwagen war, wie wir sehen werden, in Palästina schon vor den Israeliten bekannt, sie wurde von diesen aber erst in viel späterer Zeit übernommen.¹²

⁸ GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, S. 62; 959, 4; 1360.

⁹ BANGERT a. a. O., p. 4 seq.

¹⁰ WIESELER, *Phaethon*, Göttingen 1857, S. 13 unt. Anm.; Eratosthenes *Katasterism.* 43, p. 267, 4 ff. West. Hyg. poet. astron. IV, 17, 18.

¹¹ Äthiop. Henoch 72, 5. 37. Slav. Henoch 11, 2.

¹² Über das Alter der orientalischen Vorstellung vom Helioswagen bei den Griechen siehe WELCKER, *Griech. Götterlehre* I, 410 und TUMPEL, *Die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythus*, Leipzig 1887 = *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, 16. Supplementband, S. 165, A. 97.

III.

Nach Ps. 68, 5. 18 fährt der Gotteswagen in „Araboth“, wie die Juden den siebenten, obersten Himmel¹³ nennen. Dieser für einen himmlischen Ort im Plural (*maiestatis*), ähnlich wie das gewöhnliche hebräische Wort für Himmel *šamajim*, gebrauchte Namen erinnert im Singular „Arabah“ an den alten Namen des Jordantales und des Toten Meeres wie auch an die Pappel (*‘arabah*, pl. *‘arabim*), die in der Eridanossage als mystischer Unterweltsbaum eine wichtige Rolle spielt.¹⁴ Der Jordan-Eridanos war sicher seit alter Zeit als kosmischer Himmelsfluß gedacht und symbolisiert, wie man auch an ihm den Eingang ins Paradies suchte und wie seine Rolle im religiösen Leben Israels nahelegt (als Grenz- und Eingangsfluß in das Heilige Land).¹⁵

Die Bernsteinsage.

Der Eridanosfluß nun und die Phaethonsage waren seit alters aufs innigste mit den Gerüchten von der Herkunft des Bernsteins verknüpft. An ihm standen die in Pappeln verwandelten Heliaden und weinten in Trauer um ihren Bruder Phaethon Tränen, die zu Bernstein erstarrten.¹⁶ Schon MÜLLENHOFF wies in seiner *Deutschen Altertumskunde* (I, 217 ff., 222 f.) auf das hohe Alter der Sage hin und sagt davon folgendes: „Phönizier brachten den Bernstein, wie das Zinn, und wenn wir auch nicht einmal den Namen, den bei ihnen das Fossil führte, kennen, so wird doch die Ansicht über seine Entstehung, die der griechischen Sage zugrunde liegt, nur die Ihre sein. Ja die Sage ist im wesentlichen für eine phönizische zu halten, der griechische Helios ist mehr als einmal der phönizische Sonnengott, und von Selbstverbrennungen, denen der Sturz des Phaethon sich vergleicht, sind semitische Sagen und Kulte voll. Auch die Ligyer (d. s. die

¹³ Mischna Chagiga 12 b. Dort sind auch die „Ophanim“ = „Räder“ genannten Engel und der Tau des Lebens (vgl. hiezu meinen unten erwähnten Hermonaufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift X [Jan. 1926], p. 44 f.), ferner die Seelen der abgeschiedenen Frommen und Gottes Thron.

¹⁴ Über die Bedeutung der Pappel oder „Arabah“ im Kult und in der Mystik der Israeliten vgl. mein Buch über „Chöre, Tänze und Feste der alten Israeliten“, das, seit 1919 vollendet, wegen der Zeitverhältnisse noch nicht erscheinen konnte. Dort auch über die Mystik und Geschichte der Rose im Orient Verschiedenes.

¹⁵ Im Bab. Talmud b. Erubin 19 a, wo Beth-Še‘an oder Skythopolis als Eingang zum Paradies genannt wird.

¹⁶ Hesiod fr. 220; Äschylos, Heliades; Euripides, Phaethon, und viele spätere Autoren.

Ligurer) am nordwestlichen Ozean, wie die Phaethonsage sie verlangt (S. 218), fanden wir nur in einer phönizischen Quelle (die Avien in seiner Dichtung ‚Ora maritima‘ benützte). Endlich die Kunde, wie und wo der goldglänzende Sonnenstein gefunden wurde, können nur seefahrende Phönizier mitgebracht haben, die über das britische Zinnland hinaus die Küsten der Nordsee aufsuchten, um ihn dort einzusammeln oder gegen ihre Ware einzutauschen.“

An diesen Ausführungen MÜLLENHOFFS ist nach den neueren Forschungen A. SCHULTENS nur das richtigzustellen, daß die älteste zunächst erreichbare Grundlage der Ora maritima des Avien kein phönizischer, sondern ein jonischer Periplus eines Massiliensers aus dem Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts gewesen ist, wie SCHULTEN in seiner Avien-Ausgabe und dem Tartessos-Buch überzeugend dargelegt hat.¹⁷ Damit ist aber noch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß auch jener Jonier aus Massilia noch ältere Überlieferungen und Quellen seiner Beschreibung zugrunde gelegt hat. Gerade die älteste Kultur der Gegenden um Massilia weist ja, wie RENDEL HARRIS scharfsinnig gezeigt hat, auf starke Beeinflussungen aus dem Osten, aus Kreta und Palästina, hin. Ebenso waren es nicht Phönizier, die das Zinn und den Bernstein nach dem Süden und Osten von den nördlichen Gestaden des Atlantischen Ozeans brachten, sondern, wie ebenfalls SCHULTEN gezeigt hat, ligurische und tartessische Seefahrer.¹⁸ Daß Iberer und Ligurer, insbesondere aber die Tarschischleute von Südspanien lebhaften Verkehr mit Palästina hatten, geht ja auch aus verschiedenen bekannten Stellen des Alten Testaments deutlich hervor. Daß sich aber den seefahrenden Tarschischleuten auf ihren Fahrten nach dem Norden schon früh Phönizier und andere Palästinenser angeschlossen haben können, ist nicht unmöglich, man denke nur an die Tarschischschiffe und Fahrten des Königs Salomo 1. Kön. 10, 22 und der Tyrier,¹⁹

¹⁷ SCHULTEN, *Tartessos*, Hamburg 1920, S. 36. *Avieni Ora mar.* in „*Fontes Hisp. ant.*“, Barcelona-Berlin 1922, p. 6—9.

¹⁸ SCHULTEN, *Aviens Ora mar.*, p. 81. 82. A. 113, A. 129. Über die ethnologischen Fragen, die sich hier ergeben, siehe nun meine Abhandlung „Iberer und Etrusker“, worin ich nach verschiedenen antiken Quellen zeige, daß die Alten vielfach die Iberer Tyrrhener nannten, daß also die iberisch-tartessische Kultur auf tyrrhenischen Grundlagen beruht, siehe hierüber einstweilen Klio 1926 (XX, S. 483 f.).

¹⁹ Die Stellen siehe in SCHULTENS *Tartessos* und bei HENNIG, *Das Rätsel der Atlantis*, Berlin, S. 11. Dort auch über die Tartessosfahrten nach dem Norden, den Zinninseln, Berlin, Sammlung „Meereskunde“ XIV, 5, 161, S. 12. 14. 19 (Zinninseln, Bernsteinhandel).

Hes. 27, 12; auch die Erzählung vom Propheten Jona setzt eine ständige Schifffahrtslinie zwischen Jaffa an der palästinensischen Küste und dem Silberland Tarschisch voraus, Jon. 1, 3, bei der auch Israeliten sich beteiligen konnten, während die Unternehmer jener Tarschischfahrt deutlich als fremdländische Heiden gekennzeichnet sind, denen das Volk und die Heimat des Israeliten nicht näher bekannt ist. Jona 1, 5. 6. 8.

Die Phaethon-Eridanos-Sage ist eine phönizische Sage, was sich uns auch weiterhin bestätigen wird. Aber kennen wir wirklich den phönizischen Namen des Bernsteins nicht? Bei der Beschreibung des Brustschilds Aarons wird Exod. 28, 19; 39, 12 der Edelstein *lešem* genannt, den die Griechen und die Vulgata mit λιγύριον, bzw. *ligurius* „ligurischer Stein“ übersetzen und den man deshalb wohl mit Recht als „Bernstein“ gedeutet hat.²⁰ Die Ligurer oder Ligyer sind nach Hygin (fab. 152. 154) schon bei Hesiod wie auch bei Ovid, Met. II, 1—380, Vergil, Aen. X, 185—194 und Paus. I, 30, 3 mit der Phaethonsage durch ihren König Kyknos und mit dem Eridanos-Rhein verknüpft.²¹

Wie der Bernstein so heißt auch eine alte Stadt an der Jordanquelle Leschem, oder als Kurzform ohne die Endung -em Lajisch, das spätere Dan (Jos. 19, 47, vgl. Richt. 18, 7. 24. 27), nach MOVERS eine sidonische Kolonie.²² Sollte der Fluß, dessen Quellgrotte Paneas nach der Mischna Meg. 6a und Hieronymus s. v. (im Onomast.) selbst Lešem genannt wurde, damit als der Elektron- oder Bernsteinfluß von den phönizischen Ansiedlern bezeichnet worden sein?

Der Bernstein hieß nach Tacitus Germ. 45 in der Sprache der Aestii *glaesum* oder *glesum*, ebenso bei den Germanen an der friesischen Küste nach Plinius,²³ wo auch eine Bernsteininsel Glaesaria von ihm den Namen hat. Es ist wohl nicht unmöglich,

²⁰ Über den „ligurischen“ Stein und die Bernsteinsage siehe OTFRIED MÜLLER-DEECKE, *Die Etrusker* I, S. 267, A. 8 u.; MÜLLENHOFF a. a. O., D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, tome I, livre II, chap. VI, p. 330. GENTHE, *Etrusk. Tauschhandel*, Frankfurt a. M. 1874, S. 104f., SOPH. MÜLLER, *Nord. Altertumskunde*, Deutsche Ausgabe, Straßburg 1897, I, S. 326.

²¹ SCHULTEN, *Avien*, p. 83.

²² MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* II, 2 (Die Kolonien), Berlin 1850, S. 133.

²³ Plinius h. n. 37, 42; 4, 97. Von *glaesum* wird auch das deutsche Wort Glas abgeleitet. Von der Entstehung, bzw. Erfindung des Glases erzählt ebenfalls eine Sage an einem phönizischen Fluß Belus, der also, wie der Jordan-Eridanos, der Adonisfluß und der Aresfluß (Joh. Lyd. mens. IV, 64) im Libanon, der „Drachenfluß“ Typhon oder Orontes in Syrien (GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1517, 4), nach einem Gotte benannt ist.

daß *glaesum* mit Vereinfachung des anlautenden Doppelkonsonanten durch Apokope, wie es bei den finno-ugrischen Stämmen und den Lappen, die schon früh an der Ostsee saßen, und sonst häufig der Fall ist [so wird z. B. germanisch „Strand“ zu finnisch *ranta*, ähnlich altes *stlis* zu lat. *lis*, lat. *gnoscere* zu *noscere* u. v. a.], ebenso auch das nord. Handelswort *glaesum* zu *les(-um)*, *laes(-um)*, hebr. *lešem* geworden ist, und jene Phönizier mit dem Handelsartikel auch den fremden Namen als *lešem* importierten, zumal die Semiten ursprünglich (wie auch die finno-ugrischen Sprachen) im Wortanlaut keine Doppelkonsonanz dulden, diese also vereinfachen müssen (*gl = l*).

Übrigens können wir noch eine Variante dieser phönizischen Bernsteinsage in einem ganz anderen tyrischen Handels- und Kolonialgebiet anführen: In der fruchtbaren Gegend zwischen dem Atlantischen Ozean und dem Atlasgebirge, wo die Griechen die Gärten der Hesperiden suchten, in Mauretanien, ist ein See Kephisias, den die Mauren Elektron nennen, an dessen Ufern die in Meleagriden oder Perlhühner (auch Penelopae genannten) verwandelten Schwestern des Meleager den Tod des vom Eber getöteten Bruders beweinen,²⁴ und aus deren Tränen das Elektron entstand, wie Plinius²⁵ aus phönizischer Quelle und nach Sophokles die Fabel erzählt, die auch Skylax (p. 52) und Eudoxos (bei Älian h. o. XXVII, 14) kennen. Phaethon wird hier zu dem griechischen Jäger Meleager und zu einer Adonisgestalt, wie er denn auch mit diesem letzteren den Namen „Aos“, d. i. „der von der Morgenröte“, gemein hat.²⁶

Es erhebt sich nun die Frage: Haben phönizische Seefahrer,²⁷ u. zw. Sidonier, die den Bernstein aus fernen Landen nach Palä-

²⁴ Über die Meleagervögel siehe auch R. HOLLAND, *Heroenvögel in der griech. Mythologie*, Leipzig (Jahrb. der Thomasschule, 1895, S. 18f.). Sie waren auf der Akropolis, also bei einem Eridanosfluß und auf der jonischen Insel Leros beim *ἱερόν* der *παρθένος*, bei Milet lokalisiert, also unweit dem lydischen Jordan-Jardanos-Fluß der Lydier. Sollten Phokäer hierbei die Vermittler sein?

²⁵ MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* II, 2, S. 537f. u. A. 257 nach Plinius h. n. 37, 11. Zu dem See vgl. den Kopais- oder Kephisis-See in Boetien mit der alten minyisch-kadmeischen Kultur und den Kephisos in Attika mit dem Eridanosbach.

²⁶ WIESELER, *Phaethon*, S. 30. GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, S. 62 u. ö.

²⁷ Der Bernstein war auch schon der Homerischen Dichtung bekannt (Od. XV, 460). Über das Alter des Bernsteinhandels, nach SCHULTEN schon in vortartessischer Zeit betrieben, siehe auch HENNIG, *Von rätselhaften Ländern*, München 1925, S. 143f. und Kap. IV, „Der Bernsteinfluß Eridanos“, der ihn mit der Elbe gleichsetzen will.

stina brachten,²⁸ einen alten mythischen Flußnamen des Westlandes, den Eridanos-Jardanos, in ihrem Heimatlande als Jarden-Jordan neu lokalisiert und die fremden Sagen auf ihn übertragen, oder hat man einen alten, längst vorgefundenen Flußnamen des kanaanäischen Heimatlandes, den Jordan, mit seinen Sagen in die Westländer übertragen als Eridanos-Jardanos? Ich glaube das letztere annehmen zu müssen, und was die Sage von der Entstehung des Bernsteins aus den Tränen von Bäumen, bzw. von den Sonnenjungfrauen betrifft, so kann man sich wohl denken, daß man auch von anderen Kostbarkeiten, von wohlriechenden Harzen, von Perlen und Edelsteinen Ähnliches gefabelt haben wird, wie denn auch die Namen für Bernstein meist noch eine andere Bedeutung aufweisen.²⁹ So bezeichnete das hebräische *lešem* wohl überhaupt gelbe Edelsteine, das griechische Elektron auch noch ein glänzendes Metall, das germanische *glæsium* wurde zu Glas, das altdeutsche Agtstein kommt vom lateinischen Stein „Achates“, das angelsächsische *glære* erinnert an lat. *glarea* „der Kies“, das französisch-englische *ambre*, *amber* bezeichnet auch noch die wohlriechende Walfischdroge Ambra. Da der Bernstein der ligurische Stein hieß, so möchte man fragen, ob nicht in dem französisch-englischen Namen des Bernsteins eine alte Bezeichnung *ambro*, „der ambronische“, d. h. der ligurische Stein, mit einem fremden, arabischen Wort für die Walfischdroge zufällig zusammengefloßen ist, weshalb die Franzosen beide heute als *ambre*, u. z. als *ambre jaune*, „den Bernstein“, von dem ganz anders gearteten *ambre gris* unterscheiden. Ambrones war nämlich nach Plut., Mar. 19, vgl. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE a. a. O. I, p. 358, der einheimische Name der Ligurer.³⁰

IV.

Wir werden nun aus direkten griechisch-phönizischen Zeugnissen sehen, daß die Phaethon-Eridanos-Sage wirklich in Palästina einheimisch war.

²⁸ Die Phönizier dürften hier übrigens in dem weiteren Sinn, als vorgriechische und vorsemitische Mittelmeerbevölkerung zu fassen sein, wie dies AUTRAN in seinem anregenden Buch *Les Phéniciens* gezeigt hat; vgl. dort auch über den Jordan und seine anderen „phönizisch-ägäischen“ Entsprechungen, p. 68, II.

²⁹ Vgl. z. B. die griechisch-lateinischen Lexika unter *δάρυ* und *lacrima* und ähnliche Verwandlungssagen z. B. in Ovids Metamorphosen und in Märchen.

³⁰ Im Arabischen bezeichnet ja *anbar* ²عنبَر immer den Nierenstein des Pottwals, also *ambre gris*, nicht aber den Bernstein, der dort stets mit einem pers. Wort *kahrubah* „der Strohanzieher“ heißt: G. JACOB, *Beitr. z. Stud. des kasp.-balt. Handels*, ZDMG 43 (1889), S. 383. Infolgedessen muß *ambre* in der Bedeutung „Bernstein“ abendländischen Ursprungs sein.

Genealogien.

Die Planetenliste des Apollodor

(III, 14, 3):

Merkur = 1. Hermes ~ Herse
 = („Tau“)

Venus = 2. Kephelos-Gebal ~ Eos

Sonne = 3. Tithonos-Sidon

Mars = 4. Phaethon
 (= Pyroeis „der Feuerige“)

Jupiter = 5. Astynooos
 (ursprünglich Saturn)

Saturn = 6. Sandakos = Šedek
 (hebr. = Jupiter)

Mond = 7. Kinytras
 Syrenkönig vom „Mond-
 gebirge“ Libanon

Ešmun

„der

Achte“ = 8. Adonis

Stammbaum des Phaethon

Die Planetenliste

des Sanchonjathon bei Euseb.

pr. ev. I, 10 nach Damascius
 (bei Photius p. 352) Mov. I, 653.

Misōr

Ta'aut

Šedek, Šydyk = שֶׁדַּק

sieben Söhne

= Kabiren oder Dioskuren
 und ein achter (= „Ešmun“)

Asklepios = Adonis-
 Ešmun

Variante bei Sanchonjathon

περὶ Φαν. στοι. Euseb. pr. ev. I, 10,

41. 42 nach äg. Fassung:

Agathodaemon-Kneph
 (Schlange mit Falkenkopf)

Εὐνομία

= hebr.-phön.

Misor

מיסור

Δακτυλίωνη

= hebr.-phön.

Σαδύκ

צֶדֶק

Nach Damascius, Vita Isidori, Phot. bibl. c. 242:

Šadykos

Ešmun ~ Astronoe

seine Geliebte

Andere Phaethon-Genealogien:

Asopos

Schol. Od.

Helios ~ Klvmene

Schol. Od.

(Tempelwart der Aphrodite)

Variante bei Paus. I, 3, 1:

Kephalos ~ Hemera

Phaethon

Pindar, Ol. VII, 25 sqq. 131 sqq.:

Helios ~ Rhodos nymphē
Herrscher v. Rhodos

Phaethon

Genealogie des Berggottes Hermon in Palästina.

Vgl. in dieser Zeitschrift 1926, X, p. 54. 55.

Nach biblischer Überlieferung: Hiob 38, 28.

Vgl. mit Ps. 133, 3. Ps. 110, 3. Jes. 14, 12. Ps. 104, 6. 8.

Majim, Wasser = Majja oder Tehōm

(Joh. Lyd. mens. IV, 76: τῶν Μάϊων οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι βούλοντα.)

(Ba'al-) Hermon ~ Eos = Šahar
der Berggott oder Riese „die Morgenröte“

Jardēn-Eridanos = Heilēl-Heosphoros

(Jes. 14, 12)

= Phaethon

Tal

(Taugotheit)

Pan

= hebr. Azazel, der gefallene Engel im
äthiop. Henochbuch. Pan als Bocksgott,
= dem Wüstenbock Azazel
(3. Mos. 16, 8. 10)

Es gibt zwei Genealogien des Phaethon, die denselben deutlich in seine alte Heimat Phönizien, in das Gebiet des Libanon und Hermon weisen. In der Theogonie des Hesiod, v. 985, erscheint er als Sohn des Kephalos und der Eos und als nächtlicher Tempelwart der Aphrodite,³¹ die ihn raubte.

An Stelle der Aphrodite tritt nun in einer von Hermes abgeleiteten Genealogie bei dem athenischen Mythenforscher Apollodor (um 140 v. Chr., bibl. III, 14, 3) die Göttin der Morgenröte Eos, die den Kephalos raubt und mit ihm in Syrien den Tithonos zeugt, dessen Sohn dann Phaethon ist.³² Wie schon WILAMOWITZ und ROBERT³³ zu der erwähnten Hesiodstelle gezeigt haben, daß sie ein Katasterismus, eine Verstirnung, ist und den Phaethon (wie Jesaias) als Luzifer oder Morgenstern darstellen will, so läßt sich deutlich erkennen, daß die Genealogie bei Apollodor von Hermes bis Kinyras und Adonis eine aus sieben Gliedern bestehende Reihe der Planeten ist, zu der als achttes Glied, als „Achter Gott“ oder Ešmun, Adonis hinzukommt und wobei ein Stern immer als Sohn des vorhergehenden Planeten dargestellt wird. Tatsächlich findet man auch Kephalos mit einem Stern über dem Haupt abgebildet.³⁴ Phaethon ist, wie wir sahen, griechischer Planetenname, Astynooos mag eine griechische Umbildung, in der ein semitisches Astar enthalten ist, sein,³⁵ Sandakos ist, wie ich an anderem Ort gezeigt habe,³⁶ eine griechische Form für ein hebräisches Šedek, phöniz. Šydyk oder Šedek bei Sanchonjathon und bei Damascius, und von diesem Šedek werden dort ebenso

³¹ Solche Tempeldiener hießen in mythischer Zeit Kadmos oder Kadmilos und weisen auf die Kadmos-Hermes-Sage. Siehe meinen unten erwähnten Hermonaufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift X (1926), S. 42.

³² GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, S. 42. 62 u. ö.

³³ V. WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORF, *Phaethon in Hermes XVIII*, 416f.; ROBERT, *Eratosthenis Katasterism.*, rel. 194f.; idem, *Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod, Hermes XVIII*, 441; BANGERT a. a. O. (Diss. Halle), p. 5.

³⁴ GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, S. 42, 2. M. MAYER, *Hermes* 27, 1892, S. 500f.

³⁵ Vgl. den ganz analog gebildeten Namen Ἀστρο-νόη der Geliebten des phönizischen Gottes Ešmun bei Damascius, vit. Isidori, Phot. Bibl. cod. 224 (GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1544, 2). Dort heißt Ešmun, wie bei Sanchonjathon, Sohn des Sadykos, es gehören also bei Damascius eine Astronoe und ein Sadykos, bei Apollodor ein Astynooos und Sandakos in den gleichen Verwandtschaftskreis. Über die Namen Astronoe, Astynome-Astarte und ihre Herleitung von griech. ἄστω bei Joh. Lyd. mens. IV, 64f. in W. siehe MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* I, 637.

³⁶ Der Name des Hermongebirges in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, ed. by S. A. B. MERCER, Toronto, Canada, X, 1926, S. 55, (Athenische Sagen von Taugotheiten, Stammtafel, S. 55).

sieben Söhne als „Dioskuren oder Kabiren oder Korybanten oder Samothraker“³⁷ und ein achter, Asklepios, d. i. Ešmun, abgeleitet, wie bei Apollodor in der „syrischen“ Genealogie von Hermes sieben Nachkommen und als achter Adonis. Wenn die Söhne des Sydyk oder Šedek „Dioskuren“, „Zeussöhne“, heißen, so muß natürlich Šedek mit Zeus oder mit dem Planeten Jupiter identisch sein, und tatsächlich heißt im Späthebräischen des Talmud³⁸ Šedek der Planet Jupiter,³⁹ auf dessen Wanderungen am Himmel die babylonische Gemara Schabbat (156 a, b ob.) im Anschluß an die merkwürdige Jesaiastelle 41, 2 anspielt. Dort heißt es: „Wer hat vom Osten den Šedek erweckt?“ Und dann wird derselbe vom Propheten wie ein berühmter Held und Eroberer der Vorzeit, etwa wie Nimrod, geschildert. In der Planetenliste des Apollodor sieht man deutlich, daß hier Sandakos mit Astynoo die Stelle gewechselt hat und statt Jupiter zum Saturn geworden ist, während Astynoo dem Jupiter entspricht; wir sahen ja auch oben, daß bei den Griechen Phaethon verschiedenen Planeten gleichgesetzt wurde (ob. S. 172, 10).

Ich muß mir hier versagen, auf die Deutung der interessanten phönizischen Planetenliste, die uns die Genealogie des Phaethon verschafft, weiter einzugehen und verweise die verehrten Zuhörer für die Abstammung des vom Himmel gefallenen Sohnes des Sonnengottes und des Flusses, bzw. Flußgottes Jordan auf meine ausführliche Untersuchung über die ältesten Sagen und Kulte des Hermongebirges, die im *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* erscheint.⁴⁰ Dort habe ich an der Hand zahlreicher übereinstimmender orientalischer und griechischer Quellen gezeigt, daß der Berggott Hermon mit der Göttin Eos-Šachar, den Morgenstern Hejlel, einen Taugott, ferner den Pan, dessen Heiligtum sich heute noch zu seinen Füßen befindet, und der hier einen alten phönizischen Bocksgott vertritt, gezeugt hat und daß auch der

³⁷ Euseb, praep. evang. I, 10, 34 f.

³⁸ LEVY, *Neuhebr. Wb.* s. v. Der phönizische Sydyk-Šedek wird übrigens auch in der Schrift Sanchonjathons über die phönizischen Buchstaben (στοιχεῖα) nach den Geheimlehren des Tauth (= Hermes) unter dem griechischen Namen Δικαιοσύνη (= hebr. šedek) als Sohn der Schlange mit Falken- oder Habichtskopf (τέρας) des Agathodämon oder Kneph bezeichnet: Euseb, praep. evang. I, 10, 41, 42. Sanchonjathon hat wohl in jener Schrift den Buchstaben Šadeh des hebräisch-phönizischen Alphabets mit jenem Šedek in Verbindung gebracht.

³⁹ Siehe die vorige Anmerkung.

⁴⁰ Vol. X, 1926, erschienen Januar 1926, S. 41. 44, und siehe besonders den Stammbaum S. 54. 55.

Flußgott Jordan zu seinen Nachkommen gehört, wie es ja natürlich ist, denn er entspringt ja auf dem Hermongebirge.

Diesen Gott Hermon hat man nun im Altertum mit dem alten arkadisch-pelasgischen Gott Hermes, dem Vater des Pan, und dem arabischen Gott Hermaon des Hesiod identifiziert, und so ist es verständlich, daß unter diesen Nachkommen des Hermes, die Apollodor von Athen aus nach Syrien kommen läßt (in Wirklichkeit war der Weg umgekehrt), auch der phönizische Phaethon und der Held des Libanon „Adonis“, der auch auf dem Hermon verehrt wurde, mit seinem Vater Kinyras erscheint.

Nach dem Zeugnis Apollodors und anderer überraschend deutlicher Parallelen zeigte ich dort auch, wie die alten athenischen Burgkulte der Akropolis bis in die Genealogie hinein mit den Hermonkulten und -sagen übereinstimmen. So wundern wir uns auch nicht, wenn auch in Athen nahe der Burg ein alter, heute versiegter Bach Eridanos und eine Pansgrotte sich findet; er entsprang am Lykabettos und gehörte zum Flußgebiet des Ilissos und Kephisos,⁴¹ ist aber heute versandet. Wie auf der kekropischen Burg von Athen, so blühte seit alters auf dem Hermon der Kult von Taugotheiten, wofür ich ebenfalls deutliche Belege und Übereinstimmungen auch in den mythischen Genealogien nachwies. Hierzu beachte man, daß in den Dionysiaca des Nonnos, der auch die Phaethongeschichte erzählt, die Tränen der Heliaden am Eridanos „Tau“ genannt werden,⁴² und ähnlich redet Ovid (Met. 13, 627) von den Tränen der Eos über den Tod des Memnon (dessen Sage z. T. auch nach Phönizien verlegt wurde), daß sie zu Tau werden. Ich zeigte dort ferner, daß die Väter des Phaethon, Kephalos und Tithonos, nach ägyptischer und altzyprischer Phonetik, zumal ja der Kephalos- und Kinyras-Stammbaum auch

⁴¹ Vgl. auch den See Kephisias, oben S. 176, mit seiner Bernsteinsage!

⁴² NONNOS, *Dionysiaca* 38, 432. Nach einer anderen Stelle des NONNOS, 40, 369 ff., ist der Sonnengott Herakles Astrochiton („mit dem Sternenkleid“) von Tyros, der auch „vielnamiger Phaethon“ heißt und dem der Vogel Phönix auf seinem Altar dient, der Spender des Taues der Eos, MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* I, 183; vgl. auch die Tränen der Isis, der Göttin von Byblos in der ägyptischen Sage. — Die enge Beziehung des Hermongebirges und seines Flusses Jordan-Eridanos zu dem Tau und den Taugöttern, wie ich sie in meinem erwähnten Hermonaufsatz nachgewiesen habe, legt die Frage nahe, ob in dem Flußnamen nicht ein indogermanisches Element, das in dem Sanskritwort *danu*, der Tau, erhalten ist, stecken kann? Siehe unten S. 189 A.

nach Zypern weist, die Stadteponymen von Gebal und Sidon⁴³ sein müssen; in Gebal, dem uralten Sitz des Aphroditenkultes, muß es gewesen sein, wo Phaethon nach Hesiod der Göttin als Tempelwärter diente. Sidon-Tithonos nimmt in der Planetenliste des Apollodor, die nach den Entfernungen der Planeten von der Erde geordnet ist,⁴⁴ die Stelle der Sonne ein; das zeigt uns, daß die älteste Quelle der Liste in jene alte homerische Zeit oder noch weiter zurückgeht, wo Sidon noch über die phönizischen Städte als „Sonne“ die Hegemonie hatte. Phaethon aber vertritt nicht, wie bei den Griechen, den Jupiter oder Saturn, sondern viel sinngemäßer den „feurigen“ Planeten Mars oder *πυρρός*, hebr. *Ma'adim*, der „Rötliche“ genannt, Kephalos-Gebal vertritt natürlich die Stelle seiner uralten phönizischen Göttin Venus.⁴⁵ Auch für die Musikgeschichte ist die Planetentafel des Apollodor von Interesse: Ihr erstes, siebentes und achttes Glied, Hermes, Kinyras und Adonis, werden als Erfinder der siebensaitigen Lyra (Homer, Hymn. in Mercur.), der Kinyra oder Kithara, und der Flöte genannt und zeigen uns, daß die Töne wie bei den Griechen ursprünglich nach den Planetengöttern (in der Lehre von der Sphärenharmonie) benannt wurden und daß man in jener Kultur schon die siebenstufige, diatonische Tonleiter in der Musik zugrunde legte.⁴⁶

Wir fassen nun diesen Abschnitt über die Genealogie des Phaethon zusammen und können mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß dieser Phaethon ein phönizischer Sonnenheld und Planet war,

⁴³ Das anlautende *t* in Tithonos, wie in Tyros für semitisches *š* (= Sadeh); das im Inlaut, wie in dem N. der Halbinsel Sithonia auf Chalcidice, dessen Sagen und Genealogien mit dem phönizischen Beliden-Stammbaum eng verknüpft sind, MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* II, 2, 193. Vgl. auch R. EISLER, *The Cadmeian Alphabet in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 192f.

⁴⁴ Über die Planetensysteme der Alten und ihre Beziehung zur Musiktheorie vgl. die ausführliche Darlegung von JANS in *Philologus* 52. Über ähnliche Planetenlisten siehe FRITZ HOMMEL in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig 1909, S. 170ff. Wenn bei Apollodor III, 14, 3 mit Hermes-Merkur begonnen und mit dem Mond (hier = Kinyras, der Held vom „Mond“-Gebirge Libanon [hebr. Libanon zu *lebanah* „der Mond“]) geschlossen wird, so beruht das auf einer zyklischen Anordnung der Planeten und Töne auf einer Kreislinie, wie sie in der Musik seit alters üblich war (vgl. meine Untersuchungen z. hebr. Lautlehre, Leipzig 1917, S. XXIf.), wo man mit jedem beliebigen Ton oder Planeten anfangen und so sieben verschiedene Reihen oder Systeme bilden konnte.

⁴⁵ Vgl. eine Planetenreihe als Urvätergeschlecht bei Julius Africanus, siehe GELZER, *Julius Africanus*, S. 69. 70 und *Osterchronik*, ed. DINDORF I, 65, 4. 66, 10. 68, 3. 69, 7 in dem Kapitel „De astronomia“.

⁴⁶ Vgl. v. JAN, *Philologus* 52 (siehe ob. Anm. 44).

dessen Sagen mit den Städten Gebal, Sidon und dem Hermon-Libanon-Gebirge eng verbunden waren, und daß phönizische Flußnamen, wie ich es von den Bergnamen an anderem Ort schon gezeigt, vielfach Götternamen tragen; so kennen wir den Belos, den Adonis- und Aresfluß im Libanon (Joh. Lydus, de mens. IV, 64 W.); in den Adonisfluß soll auch entsprechend der Sage vom Sturz des Phaethon bei den Festen von Aphaka Feuer vom Himmel gefallen sein;⁴⁷ ferner den Drachen- oder Schlangenfluß Orontes und andere.⁴⁸ So muß auch der zum Phaethon untrennbar gehörige Eridanos dort lokalisiert gewesen sein, und wir fanden ihn in dem wohlbekannten Jordan wieder, der also offenbar auch, wie der Eridanos, in Athen und sonst den Namen eines alten phönizischen und ägäischen Flußgottes trägt. Die Alten nannten ihn den König der Ströme,⁴⁹ den Vater Eridanos,⁴⁹ den heiligen Eridanos.⁴⁹

Der Engelfall.

Wie die jüdische Überlieferung im (äthiop.) Henochbuch den Fall der Engel auf den Berg Hermon verlegt und dort einen Klageort der gefallenen Engel Ebel⁵⁰ kennt und so an die griechische Erzählung vom Fall der Titanen erinnert, so ist also der vom Hermon kommende Jordan-Eridanos (in der Genealogie der Sohn oder Nachkomme des Hermon-Hermes) der Fluß des Engelfalls, ja als Phaethon der gefallene Engel selbst. Auch an seinen Ufern befinden sich verschiedene alte Klageorte, wie Abel-Beth-Ma'akha, Abel-ha-sittîm (nach Bäumen genannt, wie die Heliaden),⁵¹ Abel-Mişrajim, Gen. 50, 11, und andere, die später anders gedeutet wurden.

Eine ähnliche Sage erzählt auch Diodor in einer euhemeristisch gefärbten Überlieferung der Atlantier (III, 57, 3), daß die Titanen den jungen Helios, den Sohn des Hyperion und der „Großen Mutter“, im Eridanos ertränkten und dafür dann bestraft wurden.

Das Neue Testament erzählt uns, daß die gefallenen Engel in den Tartaros geworfen wurden (2. Petr. 2, 4 nach dem Griech. und Vulg.;

⁴⁷ MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* I, S. 640 nach Sozomenos V, 19; Zosimos I, 58.

⁴⁸ MOVERS a. a. O., 665 f. GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1517, 4.

⁴⁹ *Verg. Georg.* I, 482 und Schol. Bern. „Pater Eridanos“, *Sil. Ital.* IV, 691. IX, 188. XII, 217. Claudian 28, 148. — Sacer Eridanos, *Sil. Ital.* XII, 697.

⁵⁰ Äthiop. Henoch, Kap. 13, 7. 8, zwischen Libanon und Senir (= Hermon); Kap. 6 f., Kap. 65 f. Der griechische Text hat Ἐβελ-σάτα.

⁵¹ Die Dornsträucher (*sittîm*) galten als Symbol des Todes und der Unterwelt, vgl. MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* I, 250 f.; ebenso nach etruskischer Lehre *Macrob Sat.* III, 20, 3.

vgl. Jud. v. 6). Eine der Mündungen des etruskischen Eridanus, wie seit Pherekydes der italische Po genannt wird, mit seiner Unterweltstadt Mantua und dem Kult des etruskischen Unterweltsgottes Mantus heißt Tartaros oder fossa Philistina, und die Sümpfe in der Nähe der Mündungen bei Adria heißen Septem maria.⁵² Dies sind deutliche Unterweltsvorstellungen, die hier lokalisiert waren und an ähnliche babylonische und spätjüdische Vorstellungen erinnern.⁵³ Der Eridanos-Po kommt von den glückseligen Bergen, den ὄλβια ὄρη, die in alter Zeit Πίπρια ὄρη hießen und später Alpen genannt wurden, wie uns Athenäus VI, 233 d nach Posidonius und ebenso Eustathios (Od. IV, 89 = 1485 E) mitteilen.

Analog sollte man nun erwarten, daß auch die Jordanmündung am Toten Meer und dieses selbst als Unterwelt vorgestellt wurde, wozu ja der spätere Name bei Paus. V, 7, 4 (θάλασσα ἡ νεκρά) und Justin 36, 3, 6 trefflich paßt, das aus einem „Toten“ Meer zu einem „Meer der Toten“ wird, wo nach Hiob 26, 5 die Rephaim oder Totengeister tief unter den Wassern wohnen und sich ängstigen.⁵⁴

V.

Zum Schlusse muß ich noch zweier Zeugnisse gedenken, die deutlich die ursprüngliche Lage des Eridanos im Osten voraussetzen. Verschiedene nämlich von den alten Quellen, die uns die Phaethonsage überliefern, verlegen dieselbe mit dem Sturz des Helden nach dem Lande des Sonnenaufganges in das östliche Äthiopien, so wahrscheinlich Euripides, nach den Fragmenten seines Phaethon zu schließen, wie WILAMOWITZ und andere annehmen;⁵⁵

⁵² MÜLLER-DEECKE, *Die Etrusker*² I, S. 210. Mantua am Mincius nahe dem Po, ebenda I, 130f.

⁵³ Vgl. BISCHOFF, *Babylon. Astrales in Talmud und Midrasch*, Leipzig 1907, S. 36 und Istars Höllenfahrt.

⁵⁴ Bei Apollonius Rhodius Argonaut. IV, 597f. und Ps.-Aristoteles, Mir. ausc. 81 und Tzetzes Lyk. 704 fällt Phaethon in einen See, der mit ähnlichen Farben geschildert wird, wie sonst das Tote Meer; der See heißt Ἄορνος λίμνη (Tzetzes). Bei Schol. Aristophan. Ran. 475 und Suidas s. v. Tartessos wird dieser Aornos-See mit der Gorgonensage in Verbindung gebracht und in das tartessische Land verlegt, er entspricht dem Ligustinus lacus, SCHULTEN, *Numantia* I, 31, 11. UNGER, *Philologus Suppl.* 4, 221. In Italien entspricht der Name bei Ps.-Aristoteles dem berühmten Unterweltssee des Vergil, Avernus lacus, von dem der Name nur die griechische Form ist. Auch in Epirus gab es einen Ἄορνος-See, mit Totenorakel; vgl. über Epirus und seinen Eridanosberg unten das Nachwort in der nächsten Nr. dieser Zeitschrift.

⁵⁵ WIESELER, *Phaethon*, S. 10. Eine Variante hievon ist, daß die Anwohner des Eridanos schwarze Kleider tragen zur Trauer, Polyb. II, 16.

ein Alexander-Historiker, Chares von Mitylene, macht daraus das libysche Äthiopien „Aethiopia Hammonis“, wo der Bernstein entstehen solle, ja andere beschränken den Brand sogar nur auf den Osten oder Äthiopien oder erzählen, daß die dunkle Hautfarbe der Äthiopier (Hygin. fab. 154 nennt die Inder)⁵⁶ von dem Brande herrühre, so Ovid Met. 2, 235 f. Äthiopien in Palästina sind uns ja durch den Sagenkreis des Bels-Sohnes Kepheus und des Perseus in Joppe wohlbekannt.⁵⁷

Endlich haben wir noch ein direktes Zeugnis für den Jordan als Eridanos bei Celsus (Origenes contra Cels. IV, 21). Jener Feind des Christentums bringt die Geschichte von Sodom und Gomorrha mit der Phaethonsage in Verbindung, eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen beiden läßt sich jedoch schwer finden, außer in dem Punkte, daß Feuer vom Himmel fiel (Gen. 19, 24). Ich meine, Celsus kann auf die sonderbare Gleichung nur dadurch gekommen sein, daß er wußte, daß man tatsächlich seit alten Zeiten den Jordan mit dem „Ostfluß“ Eridanos gleichgestellt hat. Auch in der Astronomie spielt der Eridanos die Rolle eines Ostflusses⁵⁸ im Gegensatz zu dem „Westflusse Acheron“. So fanden wir also in dem Jordan der vorisraelitischen, kanaanäischen Zeit den alten mystischen Flußnamen Eridanos wieder, den Fluß des Engelfalls und der Unterwelt, an dem im „Totenbuch“ des Vergil im Sechsten Gesang der Aeneis Tantalus seine Strafe verbüßen muß.⁵⁹

Es ist klar, daß bloße sprachliche Gleichungen zwischen den Flußnamen, wie Jordan-Rhodanos-Eridanos-Jardanos, uns zwar den Weg weisen können, sie genügen aber zu einem deutlichen und strengen Nachweis geschichtlich-ethnologischer Beziehungen nicht. Dazu brauchen wir noch das Vorhandensein ähnlicher Sagenkreise und Überlieferungen und die gleiche Lokalisierung anderer zu diesen Sagen gehöriger Namen an den in Betracht

⁵⁶ So kennt auch Ktesias bei Serv. Verg. Georg. I, 482 den Eridanos in Indien.

⁵⁷ Siehe Tümpel, *Die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythos* in FLECKEISEN *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, 16. Supplementband.

⁵⁸ ROBERT EISLER, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, München 1910, II, 483. 484 und vgl. I, 270, wo er den himmlischen Eridanos im Jakobsseggen Gen. 49, 22, vgl. 25, vermutet. Der Acheron ist dann natürlich das *jam 'ahārōn*, das Mitteländische Meer, Deut. 11, 24; 34, 2. Jona 2, 20.

⁵⁹ Vergil, Aen. VI, 659. Culex 260. Serv. Verg. Aen. VI, 603. 659 u. ö. PAULY-WISSOWA Re.-E. s. v. Eridanos.

kommenden Flüssen. Für den Jordan und Eridanos habe ich dieser Aufgabe zu genügen versucht.⁶⁰

Es ließe sich nun zeigen, wie auch mit dem Jordan-Rhodanos und verwandten Namen allerlei Rosensagen und Spuren der Wanderung der Rose verknüpft sind und wie diese Blume in ihren Wanderungen eng mit dem Kult eines Sonnengottes einhergeht und verbunden ist, so auf der Roseninsel Rhodos. Rhode oder Rhodos hieß ja auch Phaethons Mutter nach einigen Quellen. Das ist keine andere als die „Rosenfingrige Eos“ Homers, die wir ja schon bei Hesiod und in der Hermon-Genealogie als Mutter des Phaethon-Eridanos treffen. So würde die scharfsinnige Annahme von RENDEL HARRIS, daß der Name des Jordan mit dem des Rhodanus identisch sein muß, von der wir ausgingen, aufs beste bestätigt.

Eine weitere Linie, die noch kurz zu verfolgen sich lohnt, führt uns nach Lydien, mit seinem Sonnenheiligtum Sardes (Joh. Lydus, de mens. III, 14 R. nach Xanthus dem Lyder, vgl. den heiligen Löwen von Sardes als Sonnensymbol, der um die Stadt herumgetragen wird, Herod. I, 84), mit seiner Herakles- und Jardanossage. Lydien hatte einen mythischen König Hermon, auch der Hermosfluß hieß Hermon,⁶¹ die Lyder hatten alten Panskult (wie er ja mit dem Jordanursprung seit alters verbunden war)⁶² nach Joh. Lydus, de mens. III, 21 W., sie hatten ein Kadmosgebirge und lokalisierten die Phaethon- und Bernsteinsage am Paktolos,⁶² der früher Chrysor-

⁶⁰ Einen Eridanos in Thessalien, der „einst Gestalten von Tieren erzeugte“, kennen die sibyllinischen Orakel V, 136; ebenso einen Eridanos auf der Insel Lesbos, die einst wie das Land von Joje in Palästina Äthiope hieß (TÜMPEL, *Die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythos*, Leipzig 1887, S. 185). Sibyl. orac. V, 316 (Eridanos-Okeanos?). Im Buch der Jubiläen VIII, 12f. könnte man im „Berg Rafa“ die Πίπαια ὄρη (mit DILLMANN) und im Fluß Tina dann den auf den Ripäen entspringenden Eridanos vermuten.

⁶¹ Siehe meinen oben erwähnten Hermonaufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift (1926, Bd. X), S. 43. 51 über das Vorkommen des Namens Hermon in Kleinasien und bei den Griechen und zu dem lydischen Fluß Hermos-Hermon PAULY-WISSOWA s. v., nach DUKAS. Über das hohe Alter eines Panskultes am J.-Ursprung siehe ebenfalls die Ausführungen in meinem Hermonaufsatz, S. 41 ff.

⁶² WIESELER, *Phaethon*, S. 10 nach Schol. Greg. Naz., p. 56. Gaisf. (Die Heliaden weinen Bernsteintränen am Paktolosfluß in Lydien, vgl. Soph. Ant. 1049 und die Schwäne des Paktolos, Kallim. hymn. in Apoll. 27. Der Schwan spielt ja auch in der ligurischen Phaethonsage als Freund und Verwandter Phaethons, Kyknos, eine Rolle, siehe darüber D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe* I, p. 347 nach Hesiod und anderen.

rhoas geheißten haben soll,⁶³ wie auch ein vom Hermon kommender Fluß bei Damaskos hieß.

Ich kann hier nur andeuten, daß der lydische Jardanos nach einer im Indogermanischen, Romanischen (vgl. die Aussprache des französischen *j* als Zischlaut), Slavischen (vgl. z.B. *žid* „der Jude“), aber auch im semitischen Gebiet auftretenden Entsprechung von *j* und Zischlauten auf ein altes Šardanos (Žardanos, Zardanos?) zurückgeht, wobei das griechische Jota vielleicht nur graphische Wiedergabe eines im griechischen Alphabet fehlenden, dem Jot phonetisch nahe verwandten Zischlautes ist. Šardanos-Jardanos ist nichts anderes als der lydische Sonnengott Sandon-Sardan, den wir längst kennen und der uns auch in lûisch-hethitischen Inschriften als Šantaš, vielleicht = lyd. Šānñas (s. die lyd. Inschriften: Sardis, ed. Littmann, p. 42. 43. 85), von EHELOLF dem semitischen Šamaš gleichgesetzt, begegnet.⁶⁴ Hier müßte eine weitere sprachlich-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung einsetzen, die uns hier zu weit führen würde. Die beiden Reihen der Rosenflüsse (Rhodanos) und des Sonnenflusses Jardanos-Sardanos könnten nur durch eine zu erschließende Urform Svardanos, bzw. Sfardanos, worauf der einheimische lydische, durch die lydisch-aramäischen Inschriften bekannt gewordene Name der Stadt Sardes hinweist,⁶⁵ zusammen-

⁶³ Ps.-Plutarch, de fluv. 7, 1.

⁶⁴ HROZNÝ, *Hethit. Könige*, S. 56 (Gott Šantaš). Über den Sonnengott Sandon = Sardan, Sardon siehe ROBERT EISLER, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, München 1910, I, 166, 3. 227 und N. II, 518, 3. 583, 3 und Reg. s. v. Dort auch die Literatur.

⁶⁵ Sardes heißt in den lydisch-aramäischen Inschriften (Sardis, ed. E. Littmann) lyd. **𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌵𐌶**, aram. **ספרד**, also *sfard* oder vielleicht stimmhaft gesprochen *zvard*, da das lydische *s* dem Alphabetzeichen nach dem semitischen *zajin* entspricht. Vgl. auch GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie* 375, 14 über die Phaethonsage von Sardes. Einen Flußnamen Sardo gab es in Bithynien, siehe PAULY-WISSOWA s. v. Flußgötter (Waser).

Der lydische Stadtname Sardes, alt Sfard oder Sphard, wird etym. verschieden erklärt. Joh. Lyd. mens. III, 14 deutet den Namen nach Xanthos dem Lydier offenbar arisch, wenn er ihn von einem lydischen **Σάρις**, d. i. *svaris* „die Sonne“ ableitet und mit einem lydischen Wort **σαρδιν** „Jahr“, vgl. pers. *sard* „Jahr“, in Zusammenhang bringt, also Sardes = Sonnenstadt.

Auf der Münchener Orientalistentagung 1924 erklärte der leider zu früh verstorbene Münchener Etruskologe HERBIG den Namen nach TROMBETTI (*Elementi di Glottologia*, Bologna 1922, p. 117, 7, § 141) als „Falkenstadt“ nach georgisch-kaukasischem *savardeni* „Falke“, unter Hinweis darauf, daß auch der einheimische Name des lydischen Königsgeschlechtes der Mermnaden „die Falken“ bedeute. In der Diskussion wies ich darauf hin, daß dies insofern mit der einheimischen Deutung der lydischen Schriftsteller Xanthos und Johannes Lydus übereinkomme, als ja auch der Falke besonders bei den Ägyptern und sonst als der heilige Sonnen-

gebracht werden oder es liegt eine eranische Form Hvar-danos zugrunde, die im Semitischen über Vardanos (vgl. oben S. 170 und RENDEL HARRIS a. a. O., p. 304 unten) zu Jordanos, bzw. Jarden werden mußte. Eranische Wurzeln oder Lehnwörter begegnen ja auch sonst unter den lydischen Glossen, so $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\iota\nu$ Jahr, $m\acute{o}l$ „Wein“.

vogel bekannt und verehrt war. Andere Etymologien des Namens Sardes bei WILHELM, *Neue Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde* (Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften) 1, 66. 1, 45, der den Namen aus dem Thrakischen ableitet, und bei G. MEYER, *Indogerm. Forschungen* 1, 329.

Aus einem arischen svar-danos, vielleicht in Übereinstimmung mit den Hermon-Jordan-Sagen als Svar-danu nach skr. *danu* „Tau“, als „Tau der Sonne“, „Sonnentau“ oder als „Sonnenfluß“ (vgl. das Nachwort in der nächsten Nummer dieser Zeitschrift), mußte ein iranisches hvar-danu werden, das uns dann in dem skyth.-pont. Flußnamen Vardanos in Sarmatien begegnet, auf den ebenfalls RENDEL HARRIS in seinem angeführten Jordanaufsatz hingewiesen hat, nach Ptolemäus V, 8, 2; 9, 28 (*Expository Times* XXI, 1910, p. 304). Dieser sarmatische Vardanos am Schwarzen Meer ist ein Nebenfluß des Atticitus (siehe auch AUTRAN, *Les Phéniciens*, S. 68, 11). Man beachte, daß letzteres ein Flußnamenelement enthält, das gerade in der Nähe der anderen Eridanosflüsse, nämlich des Rhodanos und seines Quellflusses Vardo bei Narbo in dem ins Mittelmeer fließenden Attagus (*Avien Ora mar.* 589) oder Atax, und dann bei dem etruskisch-ligurischen Eridanos oder Po in dem bekannten Etschfluß, alt Atagis oder Athesis, mit seiner alten, nach dem Fluß benannten Hallstattsiedlung Ateste, dem heutigen Este, wiederkehrt, ebenso dürfte der südliche Po-Nebenfluß Idex, in der Nähe des italischen Renuß und der spinetischen Po-Mündung und der berühmten Villanovafundstätte von Felsina-Bologna hierher gehören, in einer Gegend, in der zahlreiche etruskische Unterweltsvorstellungen, wie der Tartarus, die Septem maria, und die Unterweltsstadt Mantua, lokalisiert sind. Zusammenhänge dieser westlichen Flußnamentypen mit dem Skythischen sind um so naheliegender als auch von prähistorischer Seite ein engerer Zusammenhang der hier sich findenden alten Eisenkulturen mit der skythischen Eisentechnik nachgewiesen ist, vgl. MAX NEUBERT, *Die Dorische Wanderung*, Stuttgart 1920, S. 37, 77ff. Sollten die Beziehungen noch weiter gehen und hier alte Namen von Paradiesesflüssen aus Babylonien vorliegen, indem der weitverbreitete Namen des Rhodanos in einem Nebenfluß des Tigris (HOMMEL, *Ethnol. u. Geogr. des Alten Orients*, München 1926, S. 254, 3, 501), dem Radânu, wiederkehrt und jener Idex oder Atax-Attagus an den alten sumerischen Namen des Tigris Idignu, Idigna(t) erinnert? Unmöglich wäre diese Annahme nicht, wenn man bedenkt, daß Herodot von den Anwohnern des Po-Gebietes, den Venetern, eine babylonische Sitte erzählt (I, 196), daß nach der Überlieferung jene Gebiete an der Adria, das Euganeerland, mit seinen alten italischen Hallstattfundorten, einst von Ostkleinasien, von den paphlagonischen Henetern am Pontos besiedelt wurden, Liv. I, 1. Verg. Aen. I, 242. — Weitere Flußnamen der Form Rhodanos und Rhotanos in Gallien dreimal, in Oberitalien, Ligurien, an der Mosel siehe bei D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe* II, p. 124 ss., § 13. — Der lydische Jardanos gilt als Vater (Apollodor II, 6, 3) der Omphale, bei Herodot dagegen ist Omphale eine Sklavin des Jardanos. Jardanos-Sardanos wäre somit nach den obigen Ausführungen ein lydischer Sonnengott gleich dem Sandon und ursprünglich wohl sicher identisch mit diesem. Zu dem Wechsel von j und Zischlaut vgl. außer den bekannten Beispielen, wie $\zeta\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$ — *iugum* — frz. *joug*, *iudaei*, *Juives*, *Jews*, russ. *Žid* „Juden“, vielleicht auch die Namen der kleinasiatischen Musikinstrumente $\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\nu\chi\eta$ und $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\nu\chi\eta$.

Wir sehen, RENDEL HARRIS' Vermutung, daß die verschiedenen vorgriechischen Jardanoi auf hethitisches Kultur- und Sprachgebiet weisen, trifft sicher nicht weit vom Ziel, auch wenn Herodot naiv behauptet, der Eridanos habe einen echt griechischen Namen (Herod. III, 115).

Lydische Einflüsse auf philistäisch-palästinensische Gründungssagen von Askalon erzählen Xanthos der Lydier und Nikolaus von Damaskos. Alte Beziehungen zwischen Semiten und Lydiern, die freilich nicht als sprachliche Verwandtschaft aufzufassen sind, legt auch die Völkertafel Gen. 10, 22 nahe, wenn sie Lûd, den Stammvater der Lydier, zum Sohn des Sem macht, wie denn auch in der lydischen Genealogie der Sandoniden oder Herakliden bei Herodot I, 7 die assyrisch-babylonischen Namen Belos und Ninos begegnen. Man vergleiche auch den alttestamentlichen Eigennamen Ahi-lûd, d. h. Lûd ist mein Bruder: 2. Sam. 8, 16 u. ö.⁶⁶

Lydisch-kleinasiatische Beziehungen zum elischen Jardanos Homers gibt die Tantalossage und die mit Pelops verbundene Erzählung von dem unglücklichen Wagenlenker Oinomaos an die Hand.⁶⁷

Doch genug hiervon. Nur über das Alter der Eridanossage in Palästina will ich noch ein Schlußwort sagen. In der uns vorliegenden griechischen Form wird sie zeitlich begrenzt durch die Einführung des Pferdes als Zugtier durch die Kassiten und die Wagenkultur von Elam her um 1750 v. Chr.,⁶⁸ durch die Datierung der frühesten Bernsteinfunde im Orient⁶⁹ an den Plätzen phönizi-

⁶⁶ Diesem „lydischen“ Namen im Alten Testament möchte ich kleinasiatische Namen wie Hippo-lytos vergleichen, den erst die griechische Sage nachträglich mit dem Pferd in Verbindung gebracht hat; er enthält das echt kleinasiatische, häufige Namens-element *hippo-*, siehe darüber FRITZ HOMMEL, *Grdr. der Geogr. und Gesch. d. a. Or.*, S. 43, 1. Ferner Hippo-lyte, die Amazonenkönigin, heth. Girpa-ruda, Garpa-ruda, Mandro-lytos, Inschrift von Magnesia am Mäander. KRETSCHMER, *Einl.*, S. 395 1. Siehe auch KRETSCHMER, S. 361. Der Name der Omphale könnte eine griechische Kurzform eines lydischen Ompha-lyte sein, vgl. Hippo-lyte, Anm. 3! Vgl. ferner Atta-lyda, lydische Stadt, bei Steph. Byz. (siehe THRÄMER, *Pergamos*, S. 347, 2. 349, nach Attis benannt).

⁶⁷ Wenn THRÄMER, *Pergamos*, S. 87 ff. die ursprüngliche Beziehung des Tantalos und Pelops zu Lydien in Zweifel zieht, so hat er hierbei ein Argument, wie das, daß die lydische Stadt Thyatira früher Pelopia hieß (Steph. Byz. s. v.), nicht in Betracht gezogen.

⁶⁸ Bedeutend früher setzt jetzt die Pferdekultur an A. KÖSTER in *Lehmann-Haupt-Festschrift: Die Herkunft des Pferdes in Babylonien*, S. 158—167 = Sammlung Janus I, Wien und Leipzig 1921.

⁶⁹ Über den Bernstein in Palästina siehe das Nachwort in der nächsten Nummer dieser Zeitschrift.

schen Importes und durch die Blütezeit sidonischer Hegemonie und sidonischer Kolonien im Jordangebiet (ca. 1500). Doch kann die Sage, wie schon bemerkt, in einfacherer Gestalt als Sternensage vom fallenden Morgenstern auch sehr wohl ohne Roß und ohne Wagen und Bernstein im Libanon-Hermon- und Jordan-Gebiet und sonst in Palästina sich verbreitet haben.

Außer den Sidoniern scheinen die Aradier, die nach Strabo und Euseb wenigstens seit dem 8. Jahrhundert in engerer Beziehung zu den Sidoniern standen, besonderen Anteil an der Eridanossage gehabt zu haben. Sie werden ja von Hesekiel (27, 8. 11) und Strabo seit alters als tüchtige Transportschiffer, die auch auf dem Lykos und Jordan die Flußschiffahrt betrieben (Strab. 16, 2. 16), geschildert, und auch Tutmes III, die Tell-Amarna-Briefe und die Assyrenkönige erwähnen sie als solche. Wer war geeigneter, Flußsagen weiterzutragen, als jene Flußschiffer? Ja ihr Name scheint wie der anderer phönizischer Städte selbst in die Genealogie des Phaethon eingedrungen zu sein. Phönizisch „Arwad“, heute Ruw âd, ist nach einer im Semitischen bei sogenannten schwachen Konsonanten (*w* und *j*) häufigen Lautumstellung⁷⁰ und nach dem ebenfalls im Semitischen, besonders im Hebräisch-Phönizischen, begegnenden Vokalsvorschlag dasselbe wie der bekannte Name der „Roseninsel“ Rhodos und des bekannten alten Kultur- und Lehnwortes *ward* = ῥόδος „die Rose“. Wie Rhodos war Arados eine Insel nahe dem Festland, und so heißt denn auch in einem Scholion zu Odyss. XVII, 208

⁷⁰ BROCKELMANN, *Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Sammlung Göschen, Leipzig 1906, § 145, S. 94, und vgl. hebr. *jatab* und *tôb* und viele andere Beispiele. Aus äg. Aratât, Tell-el-Amarna, Arvada und Ardâta = Arwad ist die griechische Form Arados entstanden.

Sollte die „Rose“, ῥόδος, von der man den Namen des Rosenflusses Rhodanos und der Roseninsel Rhodos ableitet (siehe RENDEL HARRIS a. a. O. und K. TUMPEL, *Die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythos*, S. 170. 201), wirklich mit diesem Namen zusammengehören und diese Ableitung nicht nur auf einer volksetymologischen oder mythologischen Deutung beruhen, so müßte der Name der Rose nach unseren bisherigen Ausführungen ursprünglich auf eine Form *hyard* oder *syard*, aus der dann semit. und armen. *ward* „Rose“ wurde, zurückgehen und die „Sonnenblume“ (wegen ihrer strahlenden Schönheit gleich der Morgensonne) bedeutet haben, was nicht undenkbar wäre, zumal ja auch die Roseninsel Rhodos durch ihren Sonnenkult bekannt war. — Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Arwad-Arados und Rhodos vgl. noch, daß die St. Tarsos in Cilicien bald eine rhodische Kolonie (Pomp. Mela I, 13), bald eine aradische Kolonie (*Dio Chrysost. or.*, t. II, p. 20 Rske, MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, I, 13) genannt wird, so daß also beide die Rolle wechseln. Cilicien hat ja seit alters mit Phönizien in Sage und Geschichte enge Beziehungen, andererseits auch mit Rhodos: TUMPEL a. a. O., S. 157. 185.

die Mutter des Phaethon Rhode, und ebenso hat sie (nach WELCKER und NAUCK) wohl auch Äschylos genannt,⁷¹ der den Helden am „Rosenfluß“ Rhodanos niederfallen läßt.⁷² Und ähnlich nennt Pindar (Olymp. VII, 25. 131) den Phaethon Sohn einer Nymphe Rhodos und verlegt so die Geschichte offenbar auf die Roseninsel Rhodos, wo man auch tatsächlich den Spuren seines Sagenkreises begegnet.⁷³ Dem Lyriker Pindar folgt hierin Diodor (V, 56). Für weiteres Material für die Geschichte und Symbolik der Rose und anderer Blumen in den alten Religionen und Ortsnamen und für die „Roseninsel“ Rhodos als Äthiopienland muß ich auf mein schon erwähntes Buch über die Feste und Chöre der alten Israeliten und auf TUMPELS lehrreiche und viel Quellen bebringende Abhandlung über die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythos verweisen.⁷⁴

Für die biblische Theologie ergeben sich nun aus diesen Untersuchungen folgende wichtige Thesen, die ich zum Schluß hierherstellen möchte:

I.

Die Erzählung vom Fall der Engel und die Klage um dieselben, die das Henochbuch an den Berg Hermon und seine Umgebung knüpft, und die verwandte Erzählung vom Fall des Satans als Luzifer oder Morgenstern (nach Jes. 14, 12) war schon in vorisraelitischer Zeit als phönizische Sage in Palästina bekannt und am Jordan-Eridanos lokalisiert. So mögen auch die Vorstellungen von einem Satan im Alten Testament viel älter sein als man gewöhnlich annimmt und nicht erst in persischer Zeit eingedrungen sein.

II.

Wenn man annehmen darf, daß diese alten Erzählungen vom Engelfall am Hermon und dem Gericht über den gefallenen Morgenstern Eridanos noch in neutestamentlicher Zeit bei den Juden lebendig waren, wie es auch die Lehre des Henochbuches

⁷¹ BANGERT a. a. O.

⁷² Über weitere Rosenflüsse, wie den Rhotanos auf Corsica, der nach etruskischer Phonetik mit der Tenuis *t* geschrieben wird, und andere siehe S. 170. A. 4; 188, A. 65 (= S. 189 unten) und RENDEL HARRIS in dem mehrfach erwähnten Aufsatz. Vielleicht gehört auch die St. Araden auf Kreta, südlich vom kret. Jardanosfluß, hierher.

⁷³ GRUPPE, *Griech. Mythologie*, 267. 350, 16. 487, 1.

⁷⁴ 16. Supplementband der *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*, Leipzig 1887.

vom Fall der sieben Sterne (c. 18) und des Judasbriefes vom Gericht über die Irrsterne (= *πλανήται*) Jud.-Brief v. 13 nahelegen, so möchte man fragen, ob diese Bilder nicht auch auf die Symbolik der Taufe im Jordan, als einem Fluß des Gerichts, wie ihn Hieronymus und andere Kirchenväter als *jor-dan*, bzw. *jor-din*⁷⁵ deuten, und dann überhaupt auf die Symbolik der Taufe bei Petrus (vgl. 1. Petr. 3, 20f.) und Paulus (vgl. Röm. 6, 1—10) von Einfluß gewesen sind, so wie etwa die alte Sage vom Vogel Phönix von den Kirchenvätern als Symbol der Auferstehung gedeutet wurde (z. B. 1. Clem. 25). Der Fluß oder das Wasser der Taufe ist in diesen Vorstellungen als Ort des Todes und des Gerichts gedacht, in das der Täufling hinabsteigen muß, um dann wieder daraus aufzuerstehen: vgl. Hiob 26, 5, von dem Hades und den Totengeistern, den Rephaim (griech. LXX *γίγαντες*), die tief unter den Wassern wohnen, und über diese Vorstellung von der Taufe auch Past. Herm. Sim. IX, 16).

III.

Es ist beachtenswert und beruht sicher nicht auf Zufall, daß die jüdische Überlieferung einstimmig den Engelfall mit dem Namen des Urvaters Jared geschichtlich in Verbindung bringt und ihn offenbar dadurch, nämlich vom Herabsteigen (hebr. *jarad*), auch deutet. So das Buch der Jubiläen 4, 15: In den Tagen des Jared stiegen die Engel Gottes, welche die Wächter heißen, auf die Erde herab; v. 22 wird dann der Fall dieser Engel berichtet.

Ebenso im äthiopischen Henochbuch 6, 5: „Die Engel, die Himmelssöhne (v. 2), die in den Tagen Jareds auf den Gipfel des Berges Hermon herabstiegen“, und später noch einmal (Kap. 106, 13f.): „Im Zeitalter Jareds sündigten die Engel.“

Es ist deshalb nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß man in der hebräischen Überlieferung den Jordan-Jarden, wenn auch indirekt, mit dem Namen dieses Urvaters in Verbindung brachte, etwa als Jaredan (vgl. die syr. Form des Flußnamens *Jardēnan*), und ihn als den Fluß des Herabsteigens der Engel, bzw. des Niederfalls des Engels (Phaethon), deutete. Dies liegt um so näher, da sowohl

⁷⁵ Vgl. auch WUTZ, *Onom. sacra*, p. 923 u. ö. RENDEL HARRIS a. a. O. weist auf Rufin de nom. Gallicis 4 hin, wo der Rhodanos nach dem Keltischen ebenfalls als der Richterfluß (kelt. *dan*, wie im Hebr. = *iudex*) gedeutet wird.

Jared als einer der sieben ersten Urväter⁷⁶ als auch Phaethon in seiner Genealogie, wie wir sahen, einer siebengliederigen Planetenliste angehören, und der Name somit nicht nur einen Nachkommen des Urvaters Seth (bzw. als Irad des Kain), sondern auch einen Planeten bezeichnete.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Vgl. auch die fünf, bzw. sieben Urkönige, als Planeten benannt in der Osterchronik, in dem Abschnitt *περὶ ἀστερονομίας* Chron. Pasch., p. 84, Bonn. = P. 47, wo Zeus, der dem italischen Picus gleichgesetzt ist, im Griechischen als Planet „Phaethon“ genannt wird. Auch die sieben babylonischen Urkönige (ZIMMERN, *Zeitschr. Ass. N. F.* 1 [35], 151 ff., *ZDMG.* 78 [1924], S. 28) und die sieben Urweisen des Oannes bei Berosos I, 3, Syncell. FHG. II, 496f., die aus dem „Roten Meer“ aufsteigen, wo sich ja ebenfalls eine Insel Arados (siehe oben S. 191, A. 70) findet; nach Herodot soll ja auch von dort die Kultur der Phönizier herkommen, wo sich auch die Städtenamen Tyros (als Tylos) und Gebal (als Gubin) wiederfinden (Her. VII, 98 ff.; PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, S. 112f.).

⁷⁷ Oben S. 180f. über Planetenlisten, und siehe auch die genealogische Tafel, oben S. 178/9. FRITZ HOMMEL, *Die altor. Denkmäler und das Alte Testament*, Berlin 1902, S. 24—30. Dort ist auch schon Jared als „Herabkunft des Feuers“ (nach dem babylonischen Monatsnamen arad Gibil = Ab) gedeutet, eine Erklärung, die in der Phaethonsage des Jordan-Eridanos eine schöne Bestätigung findet. (Die babylonischen Urvaternamen in der genannten Abhandlung sind jetzt nach den neuen Funden bei ZIMMERN, *ZDMG.* 78, 1924, S. 19—35, zu berichtigen.)

Auch die Sintflutsage und damit Noah, bzw. der griechische Sintflutheld, wird mit der Phaethonsage in Verbindung gesetzt: Nach dem Sturz des Phaethon trat die Deukalionische Sintflut ein, um den großen Brand zu löschen, Hesiod bei Hygin fab. 152. 154.

(Ein Nachwort in der nächsten Nummer dieser Zeitschrift bringt noch einige Angaben über das Auftreten des Bernsteins in Palästina und ethnologische Hinweise zu den Wanderungen des Jordan-Eridanos-Namens.)

ISAIAH AND THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

By HAROLD M. WIENER, Jerusalem

RENEWED study of the accounts of Sennacherib's campaign has increased my belief that by far the most reliable of our witnesses to the facts is Isaiah. The narrative of the book of Kings obviously suffers from later editing carried out with insufficient knowledge of the trend of events and from the excision of matters which were thought to be extraneous to its purpose: that of the Taylor prism from the desire to conceal the Assyrian king's perfidy and failure. Before attempting a reconstruction of the events in the light of the evidence it is desirable to offer proof of these statements.

Criticism of the narrative of Kings

In 2 Kings xviii 13 we read the words "and in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah" as the date of Sennacherib's expedition. But we know from the monuments that this took place in 701 B.C. Various attempts have been made to explain the puzzles of the Hebrew chronology, but the weightiest piece of evidence is generally overlooked. It is an oracle of Isaiah's (xiv 28-32) which shows that Hezekiah came to the throne in 727 B.C.¹

The fourteenth year was therefore 713 B.C. Now this is the date of another Assyrian expedition to the West. It was the year in which Sargon's Tartan came to Ashdod, when apparently Judah, Edom and Moab were also punished. Obviously an account of this, which originally followed the date, has been cut out by somebody who did not realise that Hezekiah had to face two Assyrian attacks and thought he was removing a duplicate of the narrative of Sennacherib's expedition.

¹ See H. M. WIENER, *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism*, 1923, pp. 29-31, 155-165.

This explains why we find the events of xx 1-19 figuring in the present text after those of 701 which they precede chronologically. Hezekiah's illness should fall 15 years before his death in 698, i.e. in 713, the Tartan's year, and the promise "I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and I will defend this city" (xx 6) must clearly antedate Sennacherib's invasion. Merodach-Baladan's embassy also probably fell in the period of his first reign (721-710 B.C.).

Another instance of editing is to be found in the gap between xviii 16 and xviii 17, no explanation being given of why the king of Assyria sent a force against Jerusalem after Hezekiah had submitted. In the same way the account of the battle of Eltakeh has been cut out in 2 Kings xix 9. Similarly verses 36 f. notoriously foreshorten events, Sennacherib's murder not occurring till 680 B.C. some twenty years later.

There is one other feature of importance, which appears to be due to two causes combined, the deletion of matter referring mainly to Egypt and the tendency to foreshorten. According to the Hebrew text of xix 35 the disaster to Sennacherib's host took place during the night after Isaiah's prophecy (בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא), but the Septuagint here reads αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ νύκτι² i.e. הַהוּא was not in its text. The addition of the word heightens the dramatic effect of the narrative, but when it is weighed in the light of the information provided by our other historical sources, it becomes probable that the Greek is nearer to the actual course of events, for they indicate that the Assyrians began the invasion of Egypt. After the battle of Eltakeh Sennacherib appears to have boasted of his victory and announced his intention of conquering Egypt. The prose narrative of 2 Kings makes no mention of this, but Isaiah does: "with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt" (2 Kings xix 24). The prophet did not expect the disaster to be immediate. "And this shall be the sign unto them: ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof" (xix 29). All this would have been meaningless had the disaster occurred the same night. There would have been no need for a sign—or rather the pestilence and subsequent retreat would

² See FIELD, *Hexapla ad loc.*

have formed a far more satisfactory and immediate sign. Cultivation could obviously have been resumed far more rapidly than the prophet contemplates. Lastly, had this part of the oracle been stultified the same night, we should have had an edition of it which suppressed a prediction that had been falsified by events within twenty-four hours of its delivery.

Confirmation of this comes from an entirely different quarter. Herodotus (ii 141) preserves a legend of Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt. According to this story he penetrated as far as Pelusium. The mice attacked the weapons of his army "by night" and forced him to retire. They are carriers of plague. This accords with "the angel of the Lord" of 2 Kings xix 35.

Now it is not credible that the Egyptians should have invented a legend of an invasion of their own country. The story must therefore have some basis in fact and supports the inference drawn from Isaiah's oracle.

Thus we conclude that after xix 34 a full account of Sennacherib's expedition would narrate his incipient invasion of Egypt and that in verse 35 we should read "by night" with the Greek and not "that night" with the Hebrew.

One other criticism must be made. The narrator may have had no knowledge of certain facts that we know from other sources to have affected the course of events. Isaiah is quite clear that the Assyrian would hear a rumour and return to his own land (2 Kings xix 7). Micah foretold this in greater detail:—"When the Assyrian shall come into our land, and when he shall tread in our palaces (?), then seven shepherds, and eight principal men will be raised against him. And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof: and they shall deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders" (Mic. v 4 f. [5 f.] emended text).³

Now we know that something of the kind in fact happened.⁴ While Sennacherib was in the West, the sea lands under Merodach

³ For proof that the Assyria here cannot refer to anything but the historical kingdom of that name see WIENER, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-174.

⁴ See R. W. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 6th Ed. (1915), ii, p. 373; A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of Assyria*, 1st Ed. (1923), pp. 289 f., *Cambridge Ancient History* III (1925), p. 65.

Baladan and the Chaldeans under Mushezib—Marduk began hostilities against him. Had the writer of Kings known of this he would probably have embodied some reference to it in his narrative.

It appears then that while the true text of the narrative in Kings is absolutely accurate so far as it goes, there are numerous omissions due to editorial and other causes. The chronology, too, is not always reliable, partly through derangement of the narrative and partly because of a tendency to foreshorten.

Criticism of the Taylor Prism

The first noteworthy characteristic of the Assyrian account is that the king does everything and no subordinate receives any mention whatever. Like all the Assyrian inscriptions it is composed simply for the glorification of the monarch, and we receive no impression of the actual movements of the campaign. History in our sense of the word is entirely remote from its purpose. This is important for more reasons than one. Modern writers have sometimes drawn inferences from its narrative which must be regarded as unjustifiable. Thus they often seem to assume that the whole Assyrian army was at all times with the king. This is very unlikely. So far as we know, Sennacherib was never faced by a force of any magnitude on this expedition except when the Ethiopians and Egyptians arrived on the scene and fought the battle of Eltakeh after the Syrian members of the alliance had been rendered powerless to take the field. It is not suggested that the Phoenicians or Ashkelon or the Jews were ever in a position to meet the whole Assyrian army in the open. Accordingly the natural course to adopt was to detail columns to deal with the strong points of the allies separately. This would have advantages from the point of view of provisioning the troops (and especially of providing them with water), and also reduce the time needed for the campaign and the possibility of a successful move by Ethiopia-Egypt. The more Syrian states were reduced before the Nile army arrived, the fewer the Syrian contingents that could assist it, and the less the chance that other Syrian potentates would throw in their lot with the allies. Every military and political consideration favoured the adoption of the methods that would lead to the most rapid results.

Our other information tells on the same side. Sennacherib claims to have taken forty-six strong cities of Hezekiah's. The book of Kings confirms this with the statement that he went up against the strong cities of Judah⁵ and captured them (2 Kings xviii 13). The water difficulty alone must have prevented the king from coming with his whole army against each one of the forty-six, even had there been no other reasons. Again the Hebrew narrative is explicit on the point that a force was sent against Jerusalem from Lachish under other generals (xviii 17). This procedure must surely have been adopted in other cases.

A recent writer has thrown doubt on the figures of the inscription. "Sennacherib claims that he took forty-six walled cities with their numberless suburbs, and two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty captives. There are scholars who defend the accuracy of this last figure; those who know the country in person will recognise the absurdity of such a census for the few square miles of rocky country which comprised the western boundary of Judah. Doubtless we have the authentic figure in the one hundred and fifty suffixed to the huge round number."⁶

These criticisms cannot be sustained. There is no suggestion either that there could have been forty-six walled cities in the few square miles of rocky country in the West or that the large number of captives were taken there. And the idea that a catastrophe which has left so great an imprint on the Hebrew records was limited to the loss of one hundred and fifty captives is ludicrous.

Further examination of the prism shows that its statements are not in chronological order. The section relating to "Hezekiah the Judaeon" stands last, but it does not in the least follow that every event it relates is subsequent to every other event which has been mentioned, or that the various incidents within the section itself are in the order in which they actually happened. A critical account of the campaign must take notice of this and seek to restore the true historical sequence.

That the inscription conceals facts which did not redound to the king's glory is obvious. No reason is given for the failure of the siege of Jerusalem which is clearly apparent. And the

⁵ The Hebrew has "all," but the LXX omits the word.

⁶ A. T. OLMSTEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

statements as to Padi, king of Ekron, do not furnish a reliable account of the real course of events. We learn that his subjects had cast him into chains and delivered him to Hezekiah. Then, we are told that "Padi, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem," though in the next sentence we read of Hezekiah that he "had not submitted to my yoke." Now there were only two ways in which Sennacherib could get Padi out of Jerusalem—either by capturing the city or by agreement. It is certain that he never entered the city: he must therefore have had recourse to negotiation.

Let us next look at the statements about Hezekiah and ask ourselves how they fit in with the terms of any possible agreement, of which the surrender of Padi could have been a provision. It cannot be supposed that the Jewish king stipulated that in return for his giving up Padi, the Assyrians were to attack and plunder his cities or besiege his capital. The only credible possibility is that an agreement was first made for Hezekiah's submission on terms that left him his life and liberty and restored peace, and that the Assyrian king disregarded it after he had made use of it to obtain his Ekronite vassal's release. As the result of Assyrian successes—possibly also of internal treachery—Hezekiah negotiated for submission and obtained certain terms. Then Sennacherib broke faith.

This exactly fits the narrative of Kings while supplying particulars that were unknown to the Hebrew account. There was first military action (2 Kings xviii 13), then Hezekiah submitted on the terms granted by Sennacherib (ver. 14), and thereafter an Assyrian force was despatched against Jerusalem in spite of the submission. The fate of Padi was immaterial from the point of view of the Kings narrative which confines itself to the fortunes of the Jews: but it was that which mattered most to the Assyrian, who was concerned to save his loyal vassal by fair means or foul, and to advertise to the world the efficacy of the succour given by the Great King to those who were faithful to him.

Another item is misplaced in the inscription: "the Urbi and his regular troops, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem his royal city, deserted." If this be compared with 2 Kings xviii, we must conclude that the desertion was earlier than the battle of Eltakeh or even than Rabshakeh's mission. "I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders

upon them. How then canst thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?" (vers 23b, 24). When these words were uttered the desertion had already taken place.

Criticism of Isaiah

Attempts have been made to prove that Isaiah was mistaken in the details of the oracles comprised in Is. xx and xxii 2b-14 and 2 Kings xix 32. Elsewhere I have shown that these criticisms are misconceived and need not repeat myself.⁷

There is, however, one other passage that calls for consideration, viz: Is. x 28-32. Those who hold that all the Assyrian troops were always with Sennacherib and that the Taylor prism supplies a candid, accurate and exhaustive account of every incident of the campaign, naturally say that the prophet here suggests a route which was not actually followed by the king—Aiath, Migron, Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Gibeah of Saul, Bath Gallim, Laishah, Anathoth, Madmenah, Gebim, Nob. Many of the sites are unknown, but quite enough is certain to show that the prophet is contemplating an advance from the North.

After what has been said in the last section of this article it is unnecessary to dwell long on this. It is natural that an Assyrian column should have been detached before the main army reached the Phœnician coast with instructions to capture Hezekiah's cities and reduce him to submission. It operated against Judah while the king was making his way to Lachish. It menaced Jerusalem, but did not attempt a siege. Such at least seems to be the meaning of Is. x 32 "he shaketh his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem." It was responsible for the capture of some of the forty-six cities. Its operations probably led to the desertion of Hezekiah's troops and the Jewish submission.

The alternative view is very unlikely. If Isaiah's anticipation had not been realised, the oracle would surely have been suppressed or amended. The fact that it has reached us in its present form raises a presumption that the course of events was thought by the prophet himself and his contemporaries to have fulfilled his utterance. Moreover, as we shall see, it finds strong confirmation in the state of affairs prevailing at the time of the delivery of that oracle.

⁷ *op. cit.*, pp. 51-3.

Sennacherib's expedition

In the light of these considerations we may suggest that the course of events was somewhat as follows.

Beginning with Hosea (i 7, viii 14) the Hebrew prophets had foretold that a terrible disaster would overtake Judah, which would be saved not by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses nor by horsemen.⁸

We have already seen that Micah predicted that an Assyrian invasion would be brought to a termination as the result of untoward events nearer home. In a prophetic summary of the leading events of Hezekiah's reign he writes "and it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and will destroy thy chariots: and I will cut off the cities of thy land, and will throw down all thy strongholds... And I will execute vengeance in anger and fury upon the nations which hearkened not." (Mic. v 9f. [10f.] 14, [15].)

Isaiah had possessed foreknowledge, if not from the time of his inaugural vision in the year that king Uzziah died,⁹ at any rate from the year 727 B.C. in which king Ahaz passed away (Is. xiv 30 a, 32). By this time it had become abundantly clear to the prophetic mind that Assyria would inflict immense loss on Judah in an invasion, and further that Jerusalem would be saved: but nothing is yet said as to the part played by Ethiopia-Egypt. There seems no reason to suppose that any oracle as to this antedates the reign of Hezekiah. But there came a time when the situation had so far developed that there were two parties at the Jewish court. One was pro-Egyptian, desiring to rebel against Assyria and rely upon Egyptian support, the other, led by Isaiah, insisted on the probability of Egypt's help.

In 720 B.C. the party of rebellion had not yet made much headway. An Ethiopian embassy came to Jerusalem to endeavour to induce Judah to enter the war against Assyria but met with no success.¹⁰ But by 713 B.C. the position was changed. When Sargon's Tartan came to Ashdod "the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab... planning hostilities to rebel against me (i.e. Sargon), ... sent

⁸ Cp. Zech. ix 8, xii.

⁹ See Is. vi 11 ff. This passage seems to foretell the general effect of the experiences of Israel and Judah in the years of his ministry.

¹⁰ Is. xviii. On this see WIENER, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f.

their presents to Pir'u, king of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, that he might set himself in hostility to me, they invited him into a confederation." ¹¹

Isaiah xxx 1-5 seems to refer to this. Egypt at that time appears to have been a weak power overshadowed by Ethiopia under Shabaka who was soon to conquer the Delta potentates. The promptitude with which Assyria acted rapidly crushed the revolt: but this episode seems to have been the beginning of Isaiah's greatest efforts in the struggle waged by the two parties to direct the course of Jewish policy. There is one prediction, which it is impossible to date, warning Hezekiah, to whom it is manifestly addressed, of the misfortunes in store for his land in the clearest possible terms:

"17. The Lord shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah, the king of Assyria. 18. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is the land of Assyria. 19. And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all pastures. 20. In that day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, which is in the parts beyond the river, even with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard. 21. And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow, and two sheep; 22. And it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat butter; for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of the land. 23. And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place, where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings, shall even be for briers and thorns. 24. With arrows and with bow shall one come thither; because all the land shall be briers and thorns. 25. And all the hills that were digged with the mattock, thou shalt not come thither for fear of briers and thorns, but it shall be for the sending forth of oxen, and for the treading of sheep." (Is. vii 17-25.) ¹²

¹¹ Sargon's B Prism 29-35, ROGERS' translation.

¹² Formerly (*op. cit.*, 50 f.) I thought that verses 21-2 formed no part of this oracle and were misplaced; but now, in the light of experience of Palestinian conditions, I can see no sufficient reason for doubting that they should stand in their present position.

The beginning of this prophecy has been lost, but its historical postulates are absolutely different from those of the Immanuel prediction which immediately precedes.¹³ We cannot say whether it dates from before or after the Tartan's expedition, but it foretells events of 701 with great clearness. Assyria will inflict sufferings on Judah which will constitute the greatest disaster since the schism. There will be a conflict between Ethiopia and Assyria in or near Judaea, practically the whole territory of which will be overrun. The valuable cultures will be destroyed, and the land abandoned to weeds that grow of their own accord and can afford nourishment to nothing save the local flocks and herds which subsist to this day on the most miserable fare. The population will be so reduced in number that there will be enough butter and honey for the few that remain to live on this fare.

As already observed it is impossible to say when Isaiah delivered this prophecy, but from 713 B.C. onwards the struggle between the two parties was in full swing. Beginning in that year he walked naked and barefoot for three years and then delivered an oracle which was a very clear forecast of the future. "So shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. And they will be dismayed and ashamed, because of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. And the inhabitant of this coastland shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria; and we, how shall we escape?" (Is. xx 4-6).

This is one of the few oracles foretelling the invasion to which a definite date can be assigned. Such prophecies as Is. xiv 24-7, xvii 12-14, xxxii 9-20 cannot be located in any particular year. Consequently they do not materially assist us in tracing the course of events in the period leading up to the calamity.

Nevertheless we may infer from the impressive and prolonged symbolical action of which we learn in Is. xx that as far back as the year of the Tartan's expedition the party of resistance in reliance on Egyptian help had attained a position of such influence at the court that the prophet realised that there was little, if any, chance of defeating them. The rival policies are already outlined

¹³ See *op. cit.*, p. 28 n.

in Is. xxx 6-33, xxxi. The prophet opposed all action against Assyria. "For thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, In returning and rest shall ye be saved: in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength" (xxx 15). "Egypt," he held, "helpeth in vain and to no purpose" (xxx 7). His opponents maintained that a more spirited course would bring success. They bribed the Egyptian leaders (xxx 6), and thrust aside the prophetic warnings (ver. 9). Isaiah was clear as to what would happen: "the Egyptians are men and not God; and their horses flesh and not spirit; and when the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they shall all fail together" (xxx 3). Yet would Jerusalem be protected: there would be a return to God, and the Assyrian would fall with the sword, not of men (4-9 cp. xxx &c.).

Thus the struggle continued between a party, which held that the nation could recover its independence by military and political action, and the prophet who realised the superior strength of the suzerain power, but knew that Jerusalem would be saved, though not by troops. At last the hour came when the interest shifted from the contentions of political parties to the actions of armed men.

The trouble seems to have begun in Philistia. According to the Taylor prism Ekron was ruled at the time by Padi, a faithful vassal of Assyria. His people rose against him and handed him over to Hezekiah, who held him prisoner in Jerusalem. Our information does not enable us to say whether this action was spontaneous, or whether it was an incident of the successful campaign which the Jewish king waged against the Philistines at some period of his reign (2 Kings xviii 8). But this much is clear: Sennacherib was faced by a revolt of large portions of the Phoenician and Philistine coast and of Judah, while Ethiopia-Egypt had undertaken to assist the rebel states.

There was an enormous difference between the two great powers involved in efficiency and preparedness for war. The empire on the Nile was lumbering and dilatory in its movements: Assyria, on the other hand, had formed a tradition of prompt and decided military action, and in this instance it fully maintained its reputation. The words Isaiah had used in connection with the Assyrian intervention in the days of Ahaz truly characterised its general conduct in war. "Behold, they shall come with speed swiftly; none shall

be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp and all their bows bent; their horses' hoofs shall be like flint and their wheels like a whirlwind" (v 26b-28).

There seems no reason to doubt that the inferences we should naturally draw from 2 Kings xviii 13-16 and Isaiah's forecast (Is. x 5-34 especially 28 ff.) are justified. Finding that he was not yet opposed by any field army, Sennacherib divided his forces and struck at the Syrian allies separately, besieging and capturing their cities. A column marched into Judaea from the North. It came close to Jerusalem but refrained from actually investing it. "He shaketh his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem" (Is. x 32).¹⁴

Whether Hezekiah desired to join battle with it is not certainly indicated by any of our authorities, though Is. xxii 3 (below) favours this view; but it was then that his troops seem to have mutinied.¹⁵ Hasty efforts were made to repair the weak points in Jerusalem's fortifications and to ensure a sufficiency of water in the event of a siege (Is. xxii 8-11 below cp. 2 Ch. xxxii 5). Is. xxii 1-14 depicts the relief of the inhabitants when they saw that the Assyrian column was retreating, the prophet's shame at the behaviour of the troops, the state of feeling when the hostile forces were approaching Jerusalem, the hurried attempts to put the city into a fit condition to resist, the insane way in which the inhabitants burst out into senseless revelling in their feeling of relief at what they believed to be merely a temporary respite—"let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die." It is convenient to set out the oracle here:—

"1. The burden of the valley of vision.

What aileth thee now, that thou art gone up all of thee to the housetops?

2. O thou that art full of shoutings, a tumultuous city, a joyous town; thy slain are not slain with the sword, neither are they dead in battle. 3. All thy rulers fled away together, they were

¹⁴ I now think that this chapter and Is. xxii together with the narrative authorities make it clear that this was the true course of events (modifying the view I formerly expressed, *op. cit.*, p. 49). The siege proper did not begin until Rabshakeh was sent from Lachish after Hezekiah had submitted and surrendered Padi.

¹⁵ We know from 2 Kings xviii 23, that Hezekiah was without any considerable force at the time the siege began, and Is. xxii 1-14 is clear.

bound by the archers(?): all that were found of thee(?) were bound together, they fled afar off.¹⁶

4. Therefore said I, Look away from me, I will weep bitterly; labour not to comfort me for the spoiling of the daughter of my people. 5. For it is a day of discomfiture, and of treading down, and of perplexity, from the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, in the valley of vision; a breaking down of the walls, and a crying to the mountains.

6. And Elam¹⁷ bare the quiver with chariots of men(?), horsemen; and Kir uncovered the shield. 7. And it came to pass, that thy choicest valleys were full of chariots, and the horsemen set themselves in array at the gate. 8. And he took away the covering of Judah.

And thou didst look in that day to the armour in the house of the forest. 9. And ye saw the breaches of the city of David, that they were many; and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool. 10. And ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall. 11. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool.

But ye looked not unto Him that had done this, neither had ye respect unto Him that fashioned it long ago(?)!

12. And in that day did the Lord, the Lord of hosts, call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: 13. and behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine: 'let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die.'

14. But the Lord of hosts revealed Himself in mine ears, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts."

Abandoned by his troops, with his territory and fortresses occupied by the enemy, his kingdom practically reduced to his capital city, Hezekiah determined to make his submission. He sent to Sennacherib who was now at Lachish, and accepted the terms imposed (2 Kings xviii 14 ff.). They evidently included the surrender of Padi, king of Ekron. Then the Assyrian broke faith, and Isaiah delivered an oracle (Is. xxxiii) too long for quotation here which paints the

¹⁶ I refrain from discussing the textual problems in order better to concentrate attention on the general situation.

¹⁷ On the mention of Elam see WIENER, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

situation within the city and without, and predicts the issue of the campaign with its happy results for Jerusalem and the people. The treachery of Sennacherib would be repaid with like treachery—as it was by his sons: then, after a prayer and prediction of what would happen, we read “7. Behold, their valiant ones cry without; the ambassadors of peace weep bitterly. 8. The high ways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth: he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities (?), he regardeth not man.” That is plain enough, and in the light of what has been said the rest of this chapter is not hard to understand.

Hezekiah's situation was now little short of desperate: yet there were two gleams of hope. Ethiopia-Egypt was known to be moving. Though the Nile power had completely failed as yet to play the rôle assigned to it, the possibility remained that in the inevitable battle it might succeed in defeating the great king and liberating the small Syrian kingdoms. The only other chance visible was that the predictions of Hosea, the early Zechariah, Micah and, above all, Isaiah would be verified. The last-named, in particular, had been justified by events on many other occasions of his prophetic career, and also (and especially) by the course of current history: and if the Nile army were defeated, that would only realise oracles that he had delivered years before. Moreover Hezekiah, at any rate, had no choice but to resist. To fall into the hands of Assyria would probably mean that he would be flayed alive.

Such was the position when Rabshakeh arrived before Jerusalem. It fully explains both his arguments and his tactics. His reasoning was admirably adapted to the circumstances. His criticism of that “bruised reed” Egypt, “whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it” was only too well founded: his arraignment of Hezekiah's religious reforms must have sounded specious enough in the ears of many of his hearers who sympathised with the old abuses: his taunt as to the inability of the little Jewish state in its enfeebled condition to provide riders for even two thousand horses was at once a reminder of how low the Jews had already fallen and a powerful argument for surrender: his loud argumentation in the vernacular was a happily conceived blow at the *morale* of the people. And in what followed Rabshakeh left no doubt as to his meaning: no terms for Hezekiah, deportation for the people (2 Kings xviii).

The king humbled himself, but not before the Assyrian: and Isaiah foretold that Sennacherib would hear a rumour and return to his own land. Rabshakeh rejoined his master at Libnah, whither he had proceeded from Lachish. It was then that the Ethiopians and Egyptians at last reached the borders of Palestine. Sennacherib defeated them heavily at Eltakeh. Ekron, which had held out till after the battle, was compelled to surrender. Nowhere in Syria was there any force left that could face the Assyrian.

Once more messengers were sent to Hezekiah: but this time there could be no further question of Egyptian help. "Let not thy God in Whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria." Once more Isaiah reiterated the promise that Jerusalem should be saved (2 Kings xix). The siege began, but the prophet had already foretold the preliminary stages and joined to that prediction the assurance that God would send a sudden deliverance (Is. xxix). The preliminary line of circumvallation appears to have been completed (Taylor prism); the mound which should have been cast ^{up} then to enable the besiegers to command the streets of the city with their arrows was never erected, nor did the battering rams with their movable towers (the "shield" of 2 Kings xix 32) ever advance against Jerusalem. Had the besiegers succeeded, it is probable that the Great King himself would have come for the last stages so that it might be called after his name (cp. 2 Sam. xii 28). But it was not to be. The words of the prophet were fulfilled. "Thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. 33. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come into this city, saith the Lord" (2 Kings xix 32f.).

While the line of circumvallation was being constructed, Sennacherib began the invasion of Egypt. He seems to have penetrated as far as Pelusium, but the tidings of the Babylonians and their allies called for his return. Then came the decisive calamity. In the night his host was smitten by a sword not of man. "At eventide behold terror, before the morning they are not" (Is. xvii 14).¹⁸ The prophets were justified. Jerusalem was saved.

¹⁸ Cp. the narratives of 2 Kings and Herodotus discussed above.

DIENSTBRIEFE DES ŠAMAŠ-NÂŠIR AN NÛR-ŠAMAŠ

Von OTTO SCHROEDER, Berlin

Unter den Funktionären der Regierung des großen Königs Hammurapi finden wir in den an Sin-idinnam gerichteten Briefen gelegentlich einen Mann namens Nûr-Šamaš erwähnt, der das Amt eines „Oberhirten“ bekleidete (s. UNGNAD, VAB VI, Nr. 37) und — mindestens in Sonderfällen (s. ebda., Nr. 33) — recht ausgedehnte Machtbefugnisse besaß, weshalb die Vermutung naheliegt, daß die Bedeutung seines „Oberhirten“-Amtes vielleicht weiter reichte als der Titel an sich zu besagen scheint. Wie ich glaube, begegnet uns eben dieser Nûr-Šamaš auch in altbabylonischen Briefen des Berliner Museums, und zwar in dienstlichen Schreiben, die ein anderer Großer der Hammurapi-Zeit, Šamaš-nâšir, verfaßt hat. Von diesen Schreiben sind drei an Nûr-Šamaš allein (VAS XVI, Nr. 81. 83. 109), zwei weitere an ihn, Awêl-Adad und den (oder die?) PA.NAM.X^{mes} (ebda., Nr. 88. 118) gerichtet.

1. VAT 7550 (=VAS XVI, Nr. 81)

(Vs.) ¹ a-na Nu-úr-^d Šamaš ² ki-bé-ma ³ um-ma ^d Šamaš-na-šir-ma
⁴ ^d Šamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka ⁵ a-nu-um-ma Ša-ga-kum ⁶ at-ṭà-ar-da-
ak-ku-um ⁷ iṣ-te-en it-ti-šú šákinam (Rs.) ⁸ [a-na...]-mu-ur^{ki}
⁹ tu-ru-ud-ma ¹⁰ ^m A-ḫu-ni ù Šá-lu-rum ¹¹ a-na Bābilm^{ki} ¹² a-na
ši-ri-ia li-še-lu-ni-šú-nu-ti ¹³ ma-aḫ-ri-ka la i-ka-lu-ú ¹⁴ ar-ḫi-iṣ
tu-ru-zu-nu-ti.

¹ Zu Nûr-Šamaš sprich: so (sagt) Šamaš-nâšir: ⁴ Šamaš möge dich am Leben erhalten! ⁵ Siehe, den Šagakum habe ich zu dir entsandt. ⁷ Sende du mit ihm einen Gärtner nach [...] -mur! ¹⁰ Den Aḫûni und den Šalûrum mögen sie zu mir nach Babel hinaufschaffen; ¹³ bei dir mögen sie nicht zurückgehalten werden. ¹⁴ Sende sie eilends!

Šamaš-nâšir sendet dem Nûr-Šamaš den Šagakum, der in Begleitung eines von Nûr-Šamaš zu bestimmenden „Gärtners“ nach

einem Orte [...] -mur sich begeben soll, von wo die beiden zwei Leute nach Babel zu Šamaš-nâšir bringen sollen.

Z. 1 ff. „Über Adresse und Grußformel in den altbabylonischen Briefen“ s. meinen Aufsatz in der *Baudissin-Festschrift*, S. 411 ff. Zum t. t. *balātu* s. jetzt auch NÖTSCHER, *Auferstehungsglauben*, S. 19.

Z. 7. *šâkinum*, id. *NU.GIŠ.SAR*.

Z. 12. *elû* III 1; der Ort lag also von Babel aus flußabwärts.

Z. 13. *i-ka-lu-û* IV 1 von אַל.

Z. 14. *tu-ru-zu-nu-ti* = *turud-šunûti*.

2. VAT 7549 (= VAS XVI, Nr. 83)

¹ *a-na Nu-ûr-šamaš* ² *ki-bé-ma* ³ *um-ma* ⁴ *šamaš-na-ši-ir-ma*
⁴ *tup-pi uš-ta-bi-la-ak-kum* ⁵ *MÁ.NI.DUB* ² *šû-ši GUR suluppē*
⁶ *a-pu-ul* ⁷ *û ma-ḥar-ka-ma* ⁸ *MÁ.NI.DUB la ta-ka-al-la* ⁹ *ar-ḥi-iš a-pu-ul*.

¹ Zu Nûr-Šamaš sprich: so (sagt) Šamaš-nâšir: ⁴ Meine Tafel habe ich dir gesandt: ⁵ das Frachtschiff von 120 gur Datteln erstatte! ⁷ und halte bei dir das Frachtschiff nicht zurück! ⁹ Eilends erstatte!

Z. 5. Die Lesung von *MÁ.NI.DUB* ist m. W. noch nicht aus Vokabularen belegt. UNGNAD, VAB VI, S. VII, Anm. 1, hält es für möglich, daß gemäß einem Vorschlage von TORCZYNER *elip našpakûtim* zu lesen sei. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, daß der sumerische Fachausdruck etwa als *manidubbû* ins Akkadische übernommen wurde. Das akkadische Wort erscheint meist als Masculinum (s. UNGNAD, S. 336), doch auch, wohl weil *MÁ* = *elippu* Femininum ist, als solches. Vielleicht darf man aus VAS XVI, Nr. 14, 30 auch für ⁸ *MÁ.TU* = *ma-a-tu* (?) das Maskulingeschlecht folgern.

Z. 7. Das scheinbare *ma-ḥar ḥi-ka-ma* wird als Dittographie anzusprechen sein. Man erwartet allerdings nicht *maḥarka*, sondern *mahrika*. *HI* ist jedenfalls zu streichen.

3. VAT 7800 (= VAS XVI, Nr. 109)

(Vs.) ¹ *a-na Nu-ûr-šamaš* ² *ki-bé-ma* ³ *um-ma* ⁴ *šamaš-na-ši-ir-ma*
⁴ *šamaš li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka* ⁵ *tup-pa-ka šá tu-šá-bi-lam* ⁶ *iš-me-e-ma...*
 ⁷ *a-nu-um-ma eš-tap-ra-ak-ku-um* ⁸ *Šá-pu-lu-um û* ⁹ *amél šâ-*
kinum šá a-na mahriⁱ-ka (Rd.) ¹⁰ *ma-ak-tu* ¹¹ *li-il-li-ku-ma*
 (Rs.) ¹² *šá ši-bu-tim šû-a-ti* ¹³ *li-ki-e-im* ¹⁴ *e-pu-uš* (folgende
 4 Zeilen annulliert).

¹ Zu Nûr-Šamaš sprich: so (sagt) Šamaš-nâšir: ⁴ Šamaš möge dich am Leben erhalten! ⁵ Deine Tafel, die du mir geschickt hast, habe ich zur Kenntnis genommen und..... ⁷ Nun habe ich dir Botschaft gesandt. ⁸ Šapûlum und der Gärtner, welche bei dir zuständig sind (?), sollen kommen! ¹² Was zur Erreichung dieses Wunsches dient, tu! (getilgt).

Ein, wie mir scheint, etwas unwirsches Schreiben, durch das Šapûlum und der Gärtner, offenbar Schützlinge des Nûr-Šamaš, zu Šamaš-nâšir beordert werden. — Die Zeilen 15 ff. sind anscheinend schon vom Absender getilgt. Erkennbar etwa: ¹⁵ *ù a-na e-pi-ši-im* ¹⁶ *it-ti-ka* ¹⁸ *ba-lu-šú la ta-ka-al[-la(?)]*.

4. VAT 7572 (=VAS XVI, Nr. 88)

(Vs.) ¹ *a-na Nu-úr-^dŠamaš ^mA-wi-il-^dAdad* ² *ù PA.NAM.X^{meš}*
³ *ki-bé-ma* ⁴ *um-ma ^dŠamaš-na-ši-ir-ma* ⁵ *ki-a-am ú-wa-ir-ku-nu-ti*
⁶ *um-ma a-na-ku-ú-ma* ⁷ *i-na ba-ab ^dIštar ta-áš-ba-ma* ⁸ *kaḫ-ka-di*
kaspim *ù šá ri-zu* ⁹ *šú-ut-ra-nim-ma ba-lu ri-me* ¹⁰ *ù šá kaspam*
i-di-nu ú la id-di-nu ¹¹ *šú-ut-ra-nim-ma ba-lu ri-me* (Rs.) ¹² *ù a-we-*
lum pa-ni a-we-lim ¹³ *i-na ba-ab ^dIštar* ¹⁴ *la ú-ba-al* ¹⁵ ⁸ *nî-ri*
ri-ma-tum i-na mu-ḫi-ku-nu šá-ak-na-at ¹⁷ *ù a-na-ku i-na*
li-bi ¹⁸ *mi-šá-a-ku* ¹⁹ *ma-an-nu-um ki-ma ku-nu-ti* ²⁰ *ra-ab*
²¹ *^mŠá-ri-iḫ* *ù I-šá-i-lum* ²² *id-na-nim-ma it-ta-al-ku* (Rd.) ²³ *a-na*
ši-ri-ia šú-ri-a-šú-nu-ti.

¹ Zu Nûr-Šamaš, Awêl-Adad und den Obmännern der Dekurien sprich: so (sagt) Šamaš-nâšir: ⁵ So habe ich selbst euch anbefohlen: ⁷ Im Ištartore nehmt Platz! und das Kapital an Silber und seinen Zinsertrag (?) schreibt mir auf ohne Rücksicht! ¹⁰ Und wer Silber gab oder nicht gab, schreibt mir auf ohne Rücksicht! ¹² Und niemand soll im Ištartore einem anderen vorgezogen werden! ¹⁵ ⁸ Joch Wildkühe sind euch auferlegt! ich selbst..... ¹⁹ Wer ist so groß wie Ihr!? ²¹ Gebt mir den Šariḫ und den Iša'ilum, sie sollen zu mir kommen! laßt sie mir vorführen!

Ein Schreiben ohne Segenswunsch!*, dafür aber mit der Einschärfung, „ohne Rücksicht“ vorzugehen, offenbar in der Eintreibung fällig gewesener oder gewordener Steuern. Das „Finanzamt“ lag im Ištartore, wohl sicher dem in Babel, das die Deutsche Orient-

* Grundsätzlich ohne Segenswunsch scheinen die Briefe der Könige der Hainmurapi-Dynastie gefaßt zu sein.

Gesellschaft freigelegt hat. Der „Einschätzung“ (Z. 8f.) folgt die Anforderung der Steuern: der zahlt, jener nicht. Hier soll ohne Ansehen der Person Bericht erstattet werden. Zwischen den Zeilen darf man vielleicht lesen, daß die Handhabung nach Ansicht des Šamaš-nâšir nicht immer unparteiisch genug erfolgte. — Dann folgt ein Monitum: denkt an die Lieferung der acht Joch Wildkühe, die ich nur „damals“ zu fordern vergaß! — Z. 19/20 „Wer ist so groß wie Ihr!?“ klingt fast wie Hohn. — Zum Schluß eine Ordre für zwei Leute, vor Šamaš-nâšir zu erscheinen.

Von besonderem Interesse ist der Titel *PA.NAM.X^{meš}*. Hierzu sei ein kleiner Exkurs gestattet. In einem Vokabularbruchstück aus Assur (VAT 9501), das ich in KAV unter Nr. 28 veröffentlichte, ist uns eine Liste sumerischer, bzw. in sumerischem Gewande erscheinender Berufsbezeichnungen erhalten, deren erster Bestandteil *PA*, d. i. akkadisch *aklum*, *šapirum*, ist, wie solche in altbabylonischer Zeit üblich waren (s. KAV, S. VIIIa). Die Vorderseite beginnt u. a. mit:

PA.Ê.UŠ.BAR = *akil bât išpari* „Webereiaufseher“,

PA.UKU.ÎLA, d. i. vielleicht „Karawanenführer“, „Aufseher der Transportarbeiter“,

PA.ŠŪ.ĤA.E.NE = *akil bâ'irûti* „Fischmeister“,

akil is-ki-ti, etwa „Feldhüter“ (?);

danach folgen:

PA. 1 LIM mit der Glosse *li-mu*,

PA. 5 me-at,

PA. 1 me-at,

d. h. gewiß akkadisch zu lesende Titel für „Aufseher über 1000, 500, 100 (Mann)“, und am Schlusse des erhaltenen Teils der Rückseite:

PA.UGNIM (oder: *kisulubgar*, s. DELITZSCH, *Sumer. Glossar*, S. 43 und 122) = *akil ummâni* „Kriegsminister“.

Die dazwischenliegenden 9 Zeilen enthielten Zusammensetzungen von *PA.NAM* mit einem weiteren Bestandteil. *NAM* ist natürlich jenes Element, das nomina abstracta bildet; s. DELITZSCH, *Sumer. Glossar*, S. 197 unter *I nam*, sowie *Sumer. Gr.*, § 59; POEBEL, *Sumer. Gr.*, § 121; DEIMEL, *Sumer. Gr.*, S. 57. 69f. Es liegt nahe, an Zusammensetzungen zu denken wie *PA.NAM.5* (s. UNGNAD, VAB VI, S. 404. 250 unter *aklu*) und *PA.NAM.10* (s. VAS XVI, Nr. 88, 2. 104, 21. 118, 2. 185, 11).

Während die ersten der in der Assurliste aufgezählten Titel unzweideutig die von Zunft- oder Handwerks „meistern“ sind — weitere s. bei UNGNAD, *loc. cit.*, S. 250, *Philadelphia-Briefe*, S. 107, SCHORR, VAB V, S. 509 —, bezeichnen die anderen offenkundig Militärs. Das lehrt die Steigerung bis zum *akil ummāni*. Eine andere Frage ist, ob die Betätigung dieser Leute damit erschöpft war; die Vermutung hat viel für sich, daß sie auch im Finanzwesen irgendwie mitzuhelfen hatten.

Daß *aklu* kein echt akkadisches Wort ist, sondern Lehnwort aus dem Sumerischen, lehrt eine wohl wegen ihrer schlechten Erhaltung nicht von DELITZSCH berücksichtigte Stelle in CT XII 22 (Brit. Mus. 38r80, Obv. 2), wo zu lesen ist:

ú-gu-lu = *PA* = *a-kil* ,

d. h. das Zeichen *PA* ist *ugulu* zu lesen, wenn es akkad. *aklu* entspricht. — Mein der Sumerologie allzufrüh entrissener Freund WILHELM FÖRTSCH vermutete, daß, wie *aplu*, *apil* sumer. *ibila* entspricht, so *aklu*, *akil* ein sumer. *igila* zugrunde liege, d. i. *igi-il* „der das Auge erhebt“ = „Aufseher“ (Postkarte vom 30. Oktober 1916).

Z. 8. Zu *kaḫḫad kaspim* s. UNGNAD, *Altbabylon. Briefe a. d. Museum zu Philadelphia*, Nr. 38, 13.

Z. 15. *rîmtu*, pl. *rîmâtum* Femininum zum bekannten *rîmu*, pl. *rîmû* und *rîmāni*. Vgl. jetzt M. HILZHEIMER, *Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien*, MAOG II, 2; HOMMEL, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, S. 507, Anm. 3.

5. VAT 8000 (= VAS XVI, Nr. 118)

(Vs.) ¹ *a-na Nu-úr-^dŠamaš A-wi-il-^dAdad* ² *PA.NAM.X.^{ut. meš}*
ù ma-ta-tim ³ *ki-bé-ma* ⁴ *um-ma* ^d *Šamaš-na-ši-ir-ma* ⁵ *dŠamaš*
li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ku-nu-ti ⁶ *aš-šum suluppē šá ga-ti-ni* ⁷ *šarrum ki-a-am*
iḫ-bi um-ma šú-ma ⁸ *a-ga-na šá GAL.NI^{meš}* *šá im-ta-na-ḫa-ru-*
ni-ni ⁹ *suluppū-šú-nu lu-mu-ur* ¹⁰ *MÁ.NI.DUB 3600 GUR suluppē*
a-na ki-la-li-ni ¹¹ *šarrum it-ta-ad-na-an-ni-a-ši-im* ¹² *600 GUR*
suluppē i-na Tu-ur-Anu^{ki}(¹) ap-la ¹³ *1200 GUR suluppē ma-aḫ-ri-*
ku-nu ap-la (Rs.) ¹⁴ *ši-bi-it te-mi-im lu ti-šá-a* ¹⁵ *1 ḫa suluppē*
a-na ma-am-ma-an ¹⁶ *la ta-na-di-na* ¹⁷ *ri-iš MÁ.NI.DUB šá i-la-*
ka-ku-nu-ši ¹⁸ *suluppū li-ki-il-lu* ¹⁹ *it-ti MÁ.NI.DUB ékallim^{lim}*
²⁰ ² *amél¹ gallābu ù 2 amél¹ mār gā-dub-ba* ²¹ *šá ékallim^{lim} i-la-ku-nim*

²² *il I-še-i-pa-ni-d Šamaš šá bît a-si-ri* ²³ *it-ti-šú-nu i-la-kam*
²⁴ *pi-ki-it-ta-šú 1 wardum ri-zu* ²⁵ *li-ki-il* ²⁶ *ni-di a-ḫi-im la*
ta-ra-dš-ši-a ²⁷ *šá 1800 GUR suluppe a-pa-li* (Rd.) ²⁸ *ip-šá-a*
²⁹ *la ta-ag-gi-a.*

¹ Zu Nûr-Šamaš, Awêl-Adad, den Obmännern der Dekurien und der Länder sprich: so (sagt) Šamaš-nâšir: ⁵ Šamaš möge euch am Leben erhalten! ⁶ Wegen der Datteln, die sich in unserer Obhut befinden, hat der König also befohlen: ⁸ „Was die der Obstbaumzüchter angeht, welche sie für mich in Empfang nahmen, so will ich ihre Datteln sehen!“ — ¹⁰ Ein Frachtschiff mit 3600 *gur* Datteln für beide (Teile) hat der König uns verkauft; 600 *gur* Datteln begleicht in Dûr-Anu, 1200 *gur* Datteln begleicht „vor euch“! Faßt euren Entschluß! ¹⁵ Verkauft auch nicht 1 *ḫa* Datteln an irgendwen anders! — Die Datteln mögen das Frachtschiff, das zu euch kommt, „verlohn“.

¹⁹ Mit dem Frachtschiff des Palastes werden 2 Marker und 2 Sekretäre des Palastes kommen. Und mit ihnen wird Iše'i-pâni-Šamaš vom Gefangenenhaus kommen. Sein „Häftling“, ein Sklave, möge „eintreffen“.

²⁶ Seid nicht lässig! ²⁷ Tut alles, um die 1800 *gur* Datteln zu begleichen! ²⁹ Seid nicht säumig!

Ein Brief aus dem Dattelgeschäft: der König — so ist doch wohl das Zeichen in Zeile 7 und 11 zu deuten — interessiert sich an einer Lieferung der Obstbaumzüchter, er vergibt ein ganzes Frachtschiff von 3600 *gur* an den Šamaš-nâšir und dessen in der Adresse bezeichnete Geschäftsfreunde, offenbar jeder Partei eine Hälfte. Und diese werden die gewiß wohlfeile Lieferung ausnützen, so gut es geht. Keine Datteln an die Konkurrenz! Dies königliche Dattelgeschäft muß sich lohnen! —

Angeschlossen sind einige Notizen über Passagiere auf dem Frachtschiff, die anscheinend der besonderen Berücksichtigung durch die Briefempfänger empfohlen werden.

Z. 2. Wegen PA.NAM.X s. zum vorigen Text. Das phonetische Komplement *ut* lehrt, daß *akil*, bzw. *aklé ešrût(i)* „Obmann, bzw. Obmänner der Dekurien“ zu lesen ist; für die Zehnergruppe, Dekurie, s. UNGNAD, VAB VI, Nr. 48, 11.

Z. 6. *šá ga-ti-ni* „was in unserem Besitz ist“ vgl. UNGNAD, *loc. cit.*, S. 373; LANDSBERGER in ZDMG 69, S. 6 f.

Z. 8. *a-ga-na* = ? s. auch UNGNAD, Nr. 115, 13. Etwa ein Gefäßname? — Für GAL.NI „arboriculteur“ s. THUREAU-DANGIN, *La correspondance de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-ḥâšir*, S. 24, Anm. 1 zu Nr. 26, 5. — *imtanaharu* מחר I 3.

Z. 10. 3600 gur = 600 gur (Z. 12) + 1200 gur (Z. 13) + 1800 gur (Z. 27); so schon FÖRTSCH (Mitteilung vom 13. Juli 1918). Für das gur, das etwa 120 l hielt, s. zuletzt UNGER, Art. „Maß“ im *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Bd. VIII, S. 60, dort die einschlägige Literatur.

Z. 12. *Tu-ur-Anu^{ki}* vermutlich = *Dûr-Anu* oder *Dêr*.

Z. 17 wörtlich: „das Haupt des Frachtschiffes, das zu euch kommt, mögen die Datteln halten.“

Z. 20. *amêl ŠÛ.I* = *gallâbu* „Marker“, nach UNGNAD, *loc. cit.*, S. 284 der Beamte, der Sklaven mit dem Malzeichen markte; s. auch MEISSNER, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, S. 375. 380 und sonst. — *TUR.Ê.DUB.BA* ist schwerlich *tupšarru* zu lesen, sondern mit THUREAU-DANGIN, *La correspondance de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-ḥâšir*, S. 12, Anm. 3, *mâr gâ-dub-ba*.

Z. 24. *piḳittu* = Obhut, Gegenstand der Obhut, der Obhut anvertraut.

SOME RELIGIOUS IDEAS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto

THE Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead is the only known example of an ancient Egyptian exegetical work. It consists of an original part together with scholia and other commentaries interpolated into the text. The only copy extant without the scholia and commentaries, so far as we know is that on the wall of the tomb of Horhotep.¹ This text is as early as the Eleventh Dynasty. It is probably much older. The commentaries, and perhaps also the original form of the chapter, were composed by priests of Heliopolis. The fullest and best edition of the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead in its Theban form with all scholia and commentaries, is that by HERMANN GRAPOW, *Religiöse Urkunden*, Heft 1-2 (*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, V 1-2). The original text is given with full critical notes and with translations.

In the history of religion, a gradual process of simplification and unification, like that which marks the progress of science, may be traced. Primitive man explains the phenomena of nature and of human life by supposing the existence of a multitude of spiritual beings, whether gods or spirits, who people the world, and by their actions bring about all the varied effects which a materialistic philosophy refers to the agency of impersonal forces. After men had peopled the world with a multitude of gods or spirits, they began, in virtue of the economy of thought, to limit the number of these spiritual beings. Instead of a separate spirit for every individual tree, for example, they came to conceive of a god of the woods in general. Thus, the innumerable multitude of spirits of gods was generalized and reduced to a comparatively small

¹ Published by MASPERO in *Mission archéol. Franç. au Caire*, II.

number of deities; that is, animism was replaced by polytheism. It is the period of polytheism replacing animism, which is represented by the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead.

This chapter of the Book of the Dead is a good example of the systematized theology of an educated polytheist. It contains a statement of the doctrine which the beatified spirit of a deceased polytheist was expected to know. The beatified spirit who knows and says this chapter will reach heaven; if he does not know and say it he will not arrive in the West. Not only that, but also he who repeats it in this world will live in health with Re. In order to reach the West or abode of Osiris the deceased must successfully enter and come out of the Underworld. But the soul can do this only with the help of the gods, and by actually identifying itself with certain gods. In this chapter we shall see that the soul identified itself with some of the greatest of the gods. Before we enumerate the gods with whom the deceased in the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead identified itself, let us note what the nature of the soul was believed to be.

The oldest belief in Egypt about the soul of man was that it could appear as a living being after the death of the body. It could continue to dwell in or near the place where the body was buried, or it could depart elsewhere to a distant realm. By the time of the Empire period, the soul was believed to be able to change into a divine sparrow-hawk, a heron, a phoenix, or a swallow. The distant realm to which the soul might go is variously referred to in this chapter as the "Horizon of Atum," the "Island of Truth," or the "Field of the Blest." The soul accordingly appealed to be delivered from the enemies of Osiris and Re, from the "Eternal Devourer," and from the "Sea of Fire." Its appeal was based upon its claim to sinlessness, and its abhorrence of deceit and lies which the gods hate. After death the soul is judged by Horus who "bestoweth wickedness on him that worketh wickedness, and right and truth upon him that followeth righteousness and truth" (§ 23).

The first god with whom the soul (in the Seventeenth Chapter of the Book of the Dead) identifies itself is *Atum*, "I am Atum" (§ 1). Now, Atum was the chief of the gods (§ 26), self-created, maker of the gods, and creator of men. He existed when the sky, earth, men, gods, and death were not (PT 1466 c-d). He

created as a place for himself to dwell in, the great mass of celestial waters, Nu, where he lived alone for a time. When the priests of Heliopolis formulated their theology, they made Atum the head of the company of the gods. But as early as the Fourth Dynasty, they made Re to usurp the place, power and attributes of Atum. It is quite clear, therefore, that while Atum is already identified with Re, the great god of Heliopolis, in this chapter, yet the chapter harks back to a time when Atum was the greatest of all gods, for the soul identifies itself first of all with Atum. Later Re entirely overshadowed Atum, making him as well as Khepri mere phases of himself. "I am Khepri in the morning, Re at midday, and Atum in the evening."

The soul then identifies itself with *Re*, "I am Re at his first appearance" (§ 1). Re arose out of Nu, where he was self-originated; he was the father of the gods, he created his own name and his own limits, out of which originated the gods (§ 1), he became head of the Ennead (§ 3), was identified with Atum (cf. also PT Ut. 217), and even overshadowed him, in that Atum was in his crescent (§ 4).

The enemies of Re, referred to in §§ 1, 5, 23, called "children of weakness," are the clouds that rebel against him and hope to kill him in the morning at his rising when he is weak. A great battle takes place, which lasts until sun-down. Finally the enemy are defeated and brought to be delivered to the sun-god at Hermopolis (or Heliopolis).

Again the soul identifies itself with *Osiris*. Now in this chapter Osiris is called the son of Re (§ 29), although, according to the Heliopolitan systematized theology, he was a member of the Ennead and son of Geb and Nut. Long before the Pyramid Texts we know that Osiris was a god of the dead, but originally he was a personification of the Nile-flood, and as such was a god of fertility and of vegetable life, who was beneficent but also sometimes dangerous (PT 1266-67).

While at an early period there was a tendency to identify Osiris and Re (compare also the twin-gods, Osiris and Re, § 21), in this chapter they are usually contrasted. Thus, Osiris is "yesterday" while Re is "tomorrow" (§ 5); and Osiris is god of the next world, while Re is the god of this world (§ 25), although in the Pyramid Texts Osiris is god of the Underworld, while Re is god

of the heavenly hereafter. In reality, we see in this chapter of the Book of the Dead the two great systems of early Egyptian religious thought being placed side by side, the worship of the sun and the worship of the Nile (Osiris) the god of fertility.

The soul identifies itself with the great Phoenix, or *Bennu* bird (§8). But according to all glosses early and late, the *Bennu* bird is to be identified with Osiris, although it was originally connected with Atum, for it was in the house of the Phoenix that Atum gave birth to Shu and Tefnut. In reality the *Bennu* bird was the soul of Re, which appeared upon the ancient pyramidal Ben-stone in Heliopolis (PT 1652).

The soul identified itself with many other divine beings; "I am *Min* in his coming forth" (§9). *Min* was the ithyphallic god of Koptos, and was sometimes identified with Horus: "I have made full the Eye, after it was damaged on the day of battle between the two Opponents" (§16). In these words, the soul identifies itself with *Thoth*, scribe of the gods, god of right and truth and judge at the combat between Horus and Set. It was *Thoth* who healed the eye of Horus, damaged by Set, in the contest between the two Opponents, Horus and Set.² It also identifies itself with *Thoth* in the words, "I have lifted up the hair of the Uzat-eye at the time of its distress" (§17).³ The soul also identifies itself with one of the divine followers of Horus either *Imset*, *Hepi*, *Dwemetef*, or *Kebehsnewf* (§19); and in §21 it identifies itself with the twin divine being *Re-Osiris* in Mendes. The soul of Re resided in Mendes, and there Osiris embraced it and there came into being the divine *Re-Osiris*. The soul finally identified itself with the great *Cat* (§22), which is emblematic of Re, who in the form of a cat cut off the head of the serpent, *Apepi*, emblematic of darkness, near the Persea tree in Heliopolis. Thus, the gods with whom the soul desired to identify itself, according to this chapter, are: Atum, Re, Osiris, the *Bennu* bird (Osiris), *Min*, *Thoth*, and one of the divine followers of Horus. The deity whom the soul feared above all was Set, the robber of souls, who dwells in darkness, and lives upon the dead (§31); but it made its supplication especially to Hu and Sje (§15), sons of Atum, gods of

² For a discussion of the myth see GRAPOW, *Das 17. Kapitel des ägyptischen Totenbuches und seine religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, Berlin 1912.

³ See GRAPOW, *op. cit.*, for an account of the myth of the Eye of the Sun.

taste and understanding; to the Lords of Truth (§ 20), followers of Osiris, to cleanse it from all sin and crime; to Re, as Khepri (§ 23), the beetle-headed god, who is so often represented seated in the Boat of the Rising-Sun, to deliver it from Intef or Shesemu; to Atum (§ 26) to deliver it from the "Eternal Devourer." (Cf. Book of the Dead, Ch. 125, 36); and to Khepri (§ 32), to deliver it from the "Watchers who give judgment, who have been appointed by the Lord of All (Osiris) to protect him and to fasten the fetters on his foes."

By what psychological process the soul identified itself with some of the greatest of all the gods, and at the same time implored their help cannot at present be determined. It may merely be that we have in this chapter a combination of differing and sometimes contradictory theological views—one view representing a belief in the deification of souls in the future world, and the other representing a more normal belief in the relationship between gods and men. At any rate, the problem is not confined to the later portions of the chapter, but is met with in the sections which GRAPOW has assigned to the Middle Kingdom.

A NOTE ON HOSEA VIII, 12

By GEO. JESHURUN, Brooklyn, N.Y.

אֶתְחַבֵּל לִי רַבּוֹ תוֹרָתִי כִּמּוֹ זֶרַח נֶחֱשָׁבוֹ

The Keri רַבִּי and the Ketib רַבּוֹ in this passage gave rise to two categories of translations.

Following Kimchi 9. V. the various translators accept the Ketib as denoting the *multiplicity* of the ordinances of the Torah; while the Keri, according to Kimchi, and also the Targum, is taken to denote the "great things" of the Torah.

So we are given two alternatives:

- (1) Keri—the great things.
- (2) Ketib—the many things.

And to both—some slight variations.

As Kimchi understands this passage, it is the Deity who speaks through the prophet. The A.V. follows Kimchi and accepts the Keri:

"I have written to him the great things of my Law, but they were counted as a strange thing."

Barring the fact that Law does not fitly render Torah, the line just quoted makes noble reading. But Kimchi's justification of it cannot be said to hold water. Said Kimchi:

”רַבִּי” —מִן ”עַל כָּל רַבּ בֵּיתוֹ” שֶׁפִּירוּשׁוֹ גִּדּוֹל וְנִכְבָּד

The passage referred to by Kimchi is taken from Esther I, 8. But the רַב in that passage can only mean, and is taken to mean, *master, officer*. What, then, could רַב have in common with רַבִּי, except the same root רַב? But the same is true of the Ketib רַבּוֹ. So the reference to רַב in Esther I, 8 does not justify any choice.

Of the root רַב we have רַב, *master*, and *many*. Then we have the Infinitives: רַבֵּב, רַבָּה, רַב. Of these we have רַב in the sense of a noun which the Lexica render multitude, abundance, greatness. That is, the sense of רַב is accepted as both *qualitative* and *quantitative*. That brings us to the Keri רַבִּי. For the latter is, evidently, a construct state of רַבִּים, the plural of רַב which Kimchi

accepts in the sense of "great things." That is, he accepts רב in the *qualitative* sense. But here the question arises: Does the Bible warrant it? And the Bible does not. A single look at any Concordance of the Bible will show, by actual count, that רב with all its prepositional prefixes and pronomial suffixes, and without any, is to be found, all in all, 145 times. And in 144 passages it has been used in its *quantitative* sense of *multitude* and abundance. The remaining *single* passage is the one we have here under consideration.—And if we look for internal evidence in this passage, and try to read the meaning of Greatness into רב, we shall see that as an *abstract* noun of that meaning it could not possibly be used in the plural. For abstractness does not admit of plurality. So רבי תורה in the sense of "great things of the Torah" seems to be unwarranted as far as the Bible is concerned. Of course, there are emendations, more or less clumsy: that by GRAETZ the most inept. He puts רברי instead of רבי.

But let us return to רב in its *quantitative* sense. In that sense it means *something multiplied*. Its plural would mean multiples of things. An analogy we have in the verb חק of the same conjugation. חק with its expansions חקק, חקה means to engrave. And because laws (and records) were commonly engraved (on stone), the word חק came to mean a *law*, though etymologically it meant an engraving, a Glyph. The plurals חקים, חקות may be taken as the plurals of חק, or, else, חקה participles of חקה with the *mem* missing. חקה in II Kings II, 10 and ינקשים in Ecclesiastes IX, 12 are two such cases in point. So in our case רבים can only mean a thing multiplied, or multiples of things. The term עבים in Ezekiel XLI, 26 is built on the same pattern from the Infinitive עבה.

Now רבי תורה is grammatically a compound noun, and as such it is declined. So רבים must mean multiples of the Torah, in a *quantitative* sense: in other words—*copies* of the Torah. For it is only by method of דרש that one can insert "ordinances" between רבים and תורה. Now תורת, singularly, means *my Torah*. But the pronomial suffix for *mine* does not refer to תורה but to the compound noun רבי תורה; that is, it must mean *my copies of the Torah*. Just as, for instance, אנשי ביתי, literally *the men of my house*, actually means *my men-of-the house*, my housemen. For it is only the Governing noun that decides the meaning of the compound noun in question.

That means, further, that we must accept the prophet as the speaker in the passage under consideration. For we cannot expect Hosea to say "*my Torah*": no prophet ever ascribed the Torah to himself. With the prophets it is God's Torah, or, else, the Torah of Moses. Neither did Moses ever refer to "*my Torah*."

To sum it all up, we must render the passage in question:

I have written for him my copies of the Torah, but they were counted as a strange thing.

As to the Ketib, it makes an anticlimax, no matter who the speaker might be assumed to be. For if *multitudes*, or as some versions have it, *myriads*, of ordinances are spoken of, a complaint that they "were counted as a strange thing" seems to be, to say the least, uncalled for. The Torah of Moses had no "multitudes of ordinances." Even the scholars of the Talmud could not count more than 613 of them.

And if we turn to GINZBERG's edition of the O.T., we read: *בס"א רבי קרי וכתוב*, which means that the Ketib may well be disregarded.

The meaning of *רבי תורה* just offered throws a light on the activity of the prophets as propagandists of the Torah and as copyists of it for the sake of public instruction.

At the same time the foregoing would add a new, hitherto unnoticed, term to the Hebrew Lexicon.—

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LITERATURE ON THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA FROM 1918 TO 1924

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THIS article continues Ackerman's bibliography in ATR II 54-7.

a) General

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1419. K. Kohler. *The Essenes and the Apocalyptic Literature*. JQR 11, 145-68.
- 1419a. J. H. Leckie. *Beauties of Apocalyptic Literature*. Exp. May 1920, pp. 381-400.
1420. L. Ginzberg. *Some observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue towards the apocalyptic-eschatological writings*. JBL 41, 115-36.
- 1420a. F. Perles. *Notes sur les apocryphes et les pseudépigraphes*. REJ 74, 173-85.
1421. E. J. Price. *Jewish Apocalyptic and the Mysteries*. HJ 18, 95-112.
1422. J. Rauch. *Apocalypse in the Bible*. Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy 1, 163-95.
1423. D. W. Riddle. *The physical basis of apocalypticism*. JR 4, 174-91.
1424. O. Stähelin. *Die hellenistisch-jüdische Literatur in W. v. Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 6th ed., pp. 535-6. Rev. Behm, TLB 42, 185.

BLAKENEY, selections with a few notes. BRADLEY and FERRAR popular. KOHLER finds that apocalyptic literature, especially Enoch, Jubilees, Testament of XII Patriarchs, is of Essene origin. He criticizes Charles on Enoch. LECKIE stresses ethical and ritual faith and hope. GINZBERG says that this literature was not very important and does not represent a popular piety in opposition to the teaching of the scribes as found in Tannaitic Literature. PRICE draws parallels. PERLES shows traces of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in Jewish liturgy (p. 173-76) and contributes important textual notes. RAUCH, a very good study; especially of the element of hope, of the day of judgment, and of origins. RIDDLE studies apocalypticism in the light of behavior psychology. Apocalyptic behavior is the result of emotional seizure of fear, sorrow, pain, loss of bodily function. Cf. also Causse 807, and Smith 87, which includes an essay on apocalyptic in O.T.

b) Maccabees

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- 1427. Dom de Bruyne. *Le texte grec des deux premiers livres des Machabées*. RB 32, 31-54.
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- 1429. — C. F. Burney. *An acrostic poem in praise of Judas Maccabeus*. JTS 21, 319-25.
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- 1431. C. W. Emmet. *The third and the fourth books of Maccabees*. London, SPCK, 1918, pp. 46 and 76.
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- 1432a. R. Harris. *Some Notes on 4 Maccabees*. ET 32, 183-5.
- 1433. M. Holleaux. *La mort d'Antiochus IV Epiphanès*. Rev. des Et. Anciennes 18, 77-102. Cf. M. J. Lagrange, RB 28, 589-91.
- 1434. J. Hontheim. *Zur Chronologie der beiden Makkabäerbücher*. Z. f. kath. Theol. 43, 1-30.
- 1435. P. Joüon. *Quelques hébraïsmes de syntaxe dans le premier livre des Machabées*. Bibl. 3, 204-6.

1436. O. Kern. *Ein vergessenes Dionysosfest in Jerusalem*. Arch. f. Rel.-Wiss. 22, 198-9.
- 1436a. E. Meyer. *Ursprung u. Anfänge d. Christentums*. 2nd vol., 1921. Rev. Zeitlin, JQR 14, 112-18.
1437. A. T. Olmstead. *Wearing the hat*. AJTh 24, 94-111.
1438. S. Raffaeli. *Classification of Jewish Coins*. JPOS 1, 202-8.
1439. S. Zeitlin. *Megillat Taanit as a source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*. 1922.

ABEL studies Galilean campaign giving a map and illustrations. DOM DE BRUYNE 1427 studies the Greek text in the light of the Latin versions and concludes that the original Greek text had been lost. DOM DE BRUYNE 1428 some textual points in 2 Macc. BURNEY turns into Hebrew 1 Macc. 3, 1-9 and finds in it an acrostic poem. CAVAIGNAC *versus* De Sanctis and Livy. The son of Antiochus died in 191-2 as we know from a cuneiform business document from Warka. EMMET, in "Translations of Early Documents" series. HARRIS, on a panegyric of Eleazar in 4 Macc. HONTHEIM, chronology of Macc. 1 and 2. JOÜON finds hebraisms in Macc. 1. KERN on 2 Macc. 6, 7. MEYER makes a thorough critical study of period of Maccabees, especially of chronology. OLMSTEAD on Hellenism. RAFFAELI, on Macc. coins. ZEITLIN harmonizes dates in 1 and 2 Macc. and Josephus. Cf. Perles 1420a on 1 Macc. (p. 177-9) and Höpfl 1679 on the Chanukah.

c) Tobit

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1442. P. Haupt. *Asmodeus*. JBL 40, 174-8.
1443. P. Joüon. *Quelques hébraïsmes du Codex Sinaiticus de Tobie*. Bibl. 4, 168-74.
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1444. A. Kaminka. *The Origin of the Ashmedai Legend in the Babylonian Talmud*. JQR 13, 221 ff.
- 1444a. G. Priers. *Il libro di Tobia, testo e introduzion*. Como, 1924, pp. 231.
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d) Judith

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MEYER rejects Gaster's theory that Judith was developed from a shorter story. Gaster's story is only a midrash.

e) Ben Sira and Wisdom

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 1455. P. Volz. *Hiob und Weisheit, Das Buch Hiob, Sprüche, Jesus Sirach, Prediger, übers. u. m. Einl. vers.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1921, pp. 278.

BÜCHLER, an exhaustive study. Lagrange writes an important critic of FOCKE. MARX on a short fragment showing belief in resurrection. MOTZO dates wisdom 39-40 A.D. and compares with Enoch and Philo especially. SPEISER bases his theory on mis-translations made by author. VOLZ, commentary. Cf. Perles 1420a on Ecclesiastes (p. 179-80).

f) Baruch

1457. J. A. Bewer. *The river Sud in the Book of Baruch*. JBL 43, 226-7.
1458. W. Stoderl. *Zur Echtheitsfrage von Baruch*, 1-3, 8. Münster, Aschendorff, 1922, pp. 23. Rev. (Anon.), RB, 1922, 626; Hempel, TLB 43, 310; Synave, RSPT 12, 76.
1459. H. St. John Thackeray. *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*. London, Milford, 1922, p. 143. Rev. Dhorme, RB 33, 268-71, cf. No. 132.

BEWER finds that it is a misreading of Ahawa. STODERL defends authenticity. DHORME doubts THACKERAY's emphasis on Baruch. Cf. Perles 1420a (p. 180) on Baruch 3, 7.

g) Jubilees

1460. E. Tisserant. *Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés*. RB, 1921, 55-86 and 206-32.
1461. L. Finkelstein. *The book of Jubilees and the rabbinic Halaka*. HTR 16, 39-61.

TISSERANT finds new fragments in the Rahmani Chronicle. FINKELSTEIN studies calendar, sabbath, festival and laws and concludes that author was a sectarian who tried to compromise between Pharisees and Sadducees.

h) Enoch

1463. B. *Due scritte politico religiosi del tempo di Cristo*. Religio 2, 167-77.
1464. G. N. Bonwetsch. *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs. Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch*. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1922, pp. 143. Rev. Beer, TLZ 48, 128.
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1471. N. Schmidt. *Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with the Book of Enoch*. JBL 42, 44-52.
1472. — *The two recensions of Slavonic Enoch*. JAOS 41, 307-12.
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BONWETSCH, good study of problems, transl. and notes. CHARLES *versus* FOTHERINGHAM 1466, who has indorsed MAUNDER 1459. CHARLES shows that theory is built on an interpolated verse. FOTHERINGHAM 1467 answers CHARLES. KUHN, good study of angels and mountains of metals. MRS. MAUNDER, *versus* CHARLES, thinks it is a Bogomil work written in Bulgarian between the twelfth and fifteenth century. MESSEL keeps this term only twice in the Parables, where it refers to the Jewish people and not to a Messiah. SCHMIDT 1471 goes back to references in Renaissance times. SCHMIDT 1472 on the double recension of the Secrets of Enoch. WELCH says that the Apocalypse of Weeks in En. 93, 1-10 and 91, 12-7 was interpolated with 93, 11-4. See also Margoliouth's No. 1687, where it is claimed that Enoch was written in Greek at first.

i) Sibylline Oracles

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1475. A. Pincherle. *Gli oracoli Sibillini giudaici*. Rome, 1922, pp. 176. Rev. Dhorme 33, 300-1.

BATE, a new translation. PINCHERLE, Italian translation.

j) 4 Ezra

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1477. M. R. James. *Salathiel qui est Esdras*. JTS 19, 347-9.

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1479. B. Violet. *Die Esra-Apokalypse (4 Esra)*. Zweiter Teil, *Die deutsche Textherstellung*, 1923, pp. 202. Rev. Perles, OLZ, 1923, 449-52.

JAMES confirms his view in JTS 18, 167ff. that it is not biblical Ezra. 4 Esdras is not a composite work. KEULERS maintains also unity of book. There is a double eschatology because there are two Eons.

k) Pirke Aboth

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1483. F. Perles. *Une faute ancienne dans Aboth VI, 1*. REJ 731, 215.
1484. Yehoash (pseud. of L. Bloomsgarden). *Pirke Abot Sayings of the Fathers, Yiddish translation (with) English translation revised*, by B. Halper. New York, Amer. Jewish Book Co., 1921, pp. 118.

OESTERLEY and HALPER, new translations. BLOOMGARDEN, translation in Yiddish. PERLES and HERTZ, emendations.

l) Ahikar

1485. F. Bork. *Zum Jahresrätsel der Achiqargeschichte*. OLZ, 1918, 226-7.
- 1485a. A. B. Mace. *The influence of Egypt on Hebrew Literature*. Liverpool, Annals of Archaeology 9, 6-13.
1486. F. Nau. *Histoire et sagesse d'Ahikar d'après le MS. de Berlin*, « Sachau 162 » fol. 86s. Rev. de l'Orient Chrét. 21, 148-60.
1487. — *Documents relatifs à Ahikar*. Rev. de l'Orient Chrét. 21, 274-307; 356-400.
- 1487a. — *Documents relatifs à Ahikar*. Paris, Picard, pp. 96. Cf. Grebaute, ROCh 22, 109.
1488. — *Le roman turc de Haiqar*. JA, 1922, I, 263-8.

1489. A. Yellin. *Notes on the Syriac Versions of the story of Ahikar as edited by J. Rendel Harris*. JQR 15, 119-21.
 1489a. — ספר אחיקר החכם, p. 68. Berlin and Jerusalem (1923).

MACE compares Ahikar and Ptahhotep, calling special attention to parallelism. NAU (1486 and 1487), Syriac texts and translation. NAU 1488, on a Turkish version made from the Arabic with a change being the punishment of Nadan by Haiqar. YELLIN 1489 emends text of 8th maxim. YELLIN 1489a, translation of Ahikar in Hebrew with introduction and notes. Cf. also Gressmann "Ursprung des Joseph Saga" for a comparison of Joseph and Ahikar.

m) Miscellaneous

1490. V. Apowitzer. *Asenath, the wife of Joseph. A Haggadic Literary Historical Study*. Heb. Union Coll. Amer., 1924, 239-306.
 1491. G. H. Box and J. E. Landsman. *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, London, SPCK, 1918, pp. 100. Rev. Kissane, Fr. Quart. Rev. 13, 255.
 1492. E. W. Brooks. *Joseph and Asenath*. London, SPCK, 1918, pp. 84.
 1493. Dom de Bruyne. *Fragments d'une apocalypse perdue*. Revue Bénédictine, 1921, 97-109.
 1494. V. Burch. *The Literary Unity of the Ascensio Isaiae*. JTS 20, 17-23.
 1495. — *Material for the Interpretation of the Ascensio Isaiae*. JTS 21, 249-65.
 1496. M. Gaster. *Recent publications of Apocrypha and Pseud-epigrapha*. ET 29, 374-5.
 1497. R. Harris and A. Mingana. *The odes and Psalms of Solomon*. Manchester Univ. Press, 2 vol., 1916, 1920. Rev. Connolly, JTS 22, 76-84 and 159-60.
 1498. K. Holl. *Das Apokryphon Ezechiels*. Aus Schrift und Geschichte. Stuttgart, 1922.
 1499. M. R. James. *The Lost Apocrypha of the O.T. collected, translated, and discussed*. London, SPCK, 1920. Rev. Abrahams, JTS 22, 300-1; Gaselee, Theol. 1, 48-50; Mercer, ATR 3, 156.
 1500. W. Lüdtke. *Georgische Adam-Bücher*. ZAW 38, 155-68.

1501. C. C. McCown. *The testament of Solomon edited from manuscripts*. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1923, pp. 178.
1502. P. Riessler. *Joseph und Asenath, eine altjüdische Erzählung*. Th. Quart. 103, 1922, 1-22.

APOWITZER shows that the narrative was originally Hebrew and was written by a Palestinian Jew for a missionary purpose. Box, in "Translations of Early Documents" Series—the first English version of the book. BROOKS, new translation. DE BRUYNE traces certain Christian liturgical texts to an apocalypse or fragment of one in Esdras 5. BURCH 1494 supports Burkitt's view on unity. BURCH 1495, a study of names. GASTER praises the translations of Early Documents edited by Oesterley and Box, and adds words of caution. HARRIS, one volume of text, one of introduction and notes. JAMES, a guide to the material 100 B.C.—100 A.D. classified, a list of titles and fragments. McCOWN, new edition of Greek text with introduction and notes. RIESSLER begins first German translation of the text edited by Batiffol in 1889. Cf. also McCown 1310 and Perles 1420a (Critical notes on Epistle of Jeremiah, Prayer of Esther, Jubilees, Apoc. of Baruch, 4 Ezra).

REVIEWS

Lettres de Hammurabi à Šamaš-ḥašir (Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, tome VII). Par F. Thureau-Dangin, 38 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1924.

The seventh volume of the new cuneiform series of Louvre publications contains seventy-seven letters from the archives of Šamaš-ḥašir, a high official of Hammurabi (or 'Ammu-rawiḥ, following the Amorite form of his name) in southern Babylonia. Over forty of the letters are from the central authority in Babylon, and are simply introduced, according to the informal custom of the First Dynasty of Babylon, by the words *ana Šamaš-ḥašir qibi-ma umma Hammurabi-ma*, "Unto Šamaš-ḥašir say, thus (speaks) Hammurabi." All of them were dug up by Arabs on the site of Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, which had been conquered by Hammurabi in the thirty-first year of his reign. Our tablets, therefore, date from the years 2039–2027, according to the astronomical chronology of Fotheringham, Schnabel, and Schoch.

The Šamaš-ḥašir correspondence has since the publication of the text edition been translated by Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. It is hardly necessary to say that this work has been exceedingly well done, as to be expected from the greatest living master of editing cuneiform texts. With this valuable addition to the Sin-idinnam letters, published a quarter of a century ago by King, we have a rich material for the study of Babylonian administrative methods in the time of Hammurabi.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Contrats et Lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie (Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, tome IX). Par G. Contenau, 54 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1926.

The ninth volume of the Louvre cuneiform series exhibits a different format from the previous ones, since it is no longer in portfolio form, but is bound. This change may have slight disadvantages, but they are more than counterbalanced by the freedom from loss and disarrangement of plates, as well as from the nuisance of having to untie three ribbon knots before opening the book. Here we have a miscellaneous collection of contracts and letters: 46 from near Kerkûk, 10 from the Cossaeen Dynasty of Babylonia, 12 from the late Assyrian period, and 79 Neo-Babylonian letters. Five of these tablets have been already published

elsewhere, and are included here for the sake of completeness. While the copies are not equal either in accuracy or in beauty to the work of Thureau-Dangin, they are clear, and the standard of accuracy seems to be high.

Hitherto the Kerkûk tablets have remained an intriguing mystery, only increased by the few tablets published from time to time. In the spring of 1925, Professor Edward Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania excavated the house of a wealthy Hurrian at Yalghan-Tepe, southwest of Kerkûk, on behalf of the 'Irâq Department of Antiquities and the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdâd. Chiera was so fortunate as to find no fewer than a thousand tablets, all apparently belonging to the archives of the family which had occupied that house for several generations, about the fourteenth century B.C. Several volumes of copies have already been prepared by this indefatigable scholar, and the first of them will probably be issued by Geuthner before this review appears. Another volume of Kerkûk texts from Yalghan-Tepe and also from Kerkûk itself, from the expert hand of Mr. Gadd, will probably be published about the same time. These publications, in addition to the texts already before us, will give us well over a thousand documents, all from the immediate vicinity of Kerkûk, and probably all from about 1400-1300 B.C. The light which they throw upon the Hurrian culture, religion, language, social and commercial organization, can hardly be overestimated, while the impressions of seal cylinders, being studied now by Chiera, are of fundamental importance for our knowledge of the origins of the so-called Syro-Hittite art. It is, however, too much to say that the Hurrians now enter the field as rivals of the Sumerians and the Accadians for the honour of having created the great Mesopotamian civilization, which for thousands of years controlled nearly all Western Asia. But they undoubtedly formed one of the most important elements entering into the composition of the Assyrian race, and they played a rôle of fundamental importance, as it now appears, in disseminating Sumero-Accadian culture in Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor. To students of Hebrew origins, "Hurrian" will soon become a household word, to judge from present indications, as we shall see.

The first scholar to point out clearly just who the bearers of Hurrian names were, though the racial name was then unknown, was Arthur Ungnad, in his masterly introduction to his study of the Dilbat tablets in part 5 of the sixth volume of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, which appeared in 1909. The tablets in question came from a site some fifteen miles south of Babylon, and belong to the latter part of the First Dynasty of Babylon, or about the twentieth century B.C. From the period of the First Dynasty to the end of the Cossaeon Dynasty names of Hurrian type were common, and their bearers were called *Subarû*, or "Subartufolk" by the Babylonians. The native name, at least in Mitanni and Cappadocia, was *Hurri*, as proved

by the references to people, land, and language found in the Boghaz-köi tablets. That these Hurri are the Hōrim of the Hebrew Bible and the Chorraioi of the Greek Bible (cf. *Amurru-Amōrim*), long supposed by many scholars, seems to be certain now, after the discovery by Gustavs that many of the names occurring in the Taanach tablets of the fifteenth century B.C. (the Amarna tablets mostly belong to the fourteenth century) are characteristically Hurrian. The address of the Shechem letter just published by Böhl in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* bears the Hurrian name *Bi-ra-aš-še-na* (the following signs can hardly be part of his name), that is *B(P)ira-šena*; false doubling of consonants is common in our tablets also. In the light of this fact there can hardly be any doubt left that Eduard Meyer was quite correct in preferring the Greek reading "Horite" to the Hebrew "Hivite" in Gen. 34:2 and other passages.

Contenau's publication follows the plan of the series, and dispenses with an index of names and places. The constant recurrence of the names and the fact that the town Nuzi (= Yalghan Tepe) is mentioned (e.g., 20:11) suggests that these tablets belong, in part at least, to the archives excavated there by Chiera. Since no mention of Arrapha-Kerkûk is found, they cannot come from the same find as those to be published by Gadd. There is no value in attempting an analysis of these documents until the Chiera texts are published. Since the proper names are very interesting, I shall give a selected alphabetic list of Hurrian names below. Foreign names are rare, and seem to be either Assyrian, like *Ašdu-Ašir* and *Annišu-Ašir*, Babylonian, like *Bēl-iddina*, *Nābū-ilī*, *Sin-nādin-šum* (all of scribes), or Cossaeian, like [*..š*]a-qa-ra-ak-ti (20:2).

For the orthography of the Hurrian names it is important to note that voiced and voiceless stops (*b, p; d, t; g, k*) are interchangeable; the Hurrians appear to have had only one set of stops. The constant interchange of *g, k*, and *q* shows that we cannot distinguish them; I have written *k* for *q*. The exact value of *PI* is rather obscure; I have employed the usual transcriptions *wa, we, wi*. Characteristic of Hurrian is the vast number of hypocoristica.

Ahli-Tešup (12, 46), Akâ'a (10), Akap-duggi (14), Akap-šalim (*ŠI*—17), Akap-šenni (30, 45), Akapta-šenni (7), Akawabe (19), Akiya (10, 12, 19, 33), Akkulenni (8, 26), Alkiya (or Alšûya—44), Antarati (= Antaratli, name of king of Alše in 14th century—36), Arâ'a (29), Arip-parni (6), Ari-ḥarme (19), Ari-muše (14), Arnanta (6), Arših-šar (17), Artâ'a (17, 41), Arta-šenni (9, 23, 44), Ar-Tešup (21, 46), Ar-Tilla (20)

Duraru (cf. cf. Turara and Turar-Tešup—9)

Elhip-šar (8), Elhip-Tilla (16), Eliš-Tilla (10), Ennâ'a (8, 10, 14, 44), Ennamati (6), Erazi (= Irrazi—44), Etea (44), Eweri (*E-PI-ri*—44)

Giliya (14)

Habira (8—father of Elḥip-šar), Hamanna (13—cf. biblical name *Haman*), Hanā'a (6), Haniate (6), Haniku (8—father of Pai-šar), Hanikuzzi (17), Harbiya (10), Hašip-abil (*Ha-ši-pa-bil*—44), Hašip-ḥatip (*LU*—10, 16), Hašip-Tilla (9, 16, 45, 46), Haište (41), Hudiya (= Hutiya—25), Hutip-abu (6—his son is Išham-nirāri, a hybrid name?), Hutip-šar (7), Hutiya (26, 40, 46), Hūya (19)

Ipšā'a (23), Ipšā-ḥatip (*LU*—7, 16), Irwi-šar (44), Išküya (14), Iṭhabu (43) Kakkiya (6), Kalumû (6—father of Enna-mati), Kaniya (17), Katmi-Tešup (9), Kibā'a or Kipā'a (10, 45), Kibiya (19), Kubiya (8), Kudugga (14, 41), Kuranzi (6), Kutmabu (6—hardly *Tarmabu*), Kutmi-Tilla (or *Tarmi-Tilla*—24), Kuzzari (6)

Lante (46)

Matiya (33, 36), Mudari (17), Muniabašimi (46), Muripši (12), Mû-šalim (*ŠI*—19), Mūya (10)

Nai-šeri (23, 27), Naldūya (10), Naniya (46), Nihriya (9), Nindiya (41), Nirbiya (44), Nirḥi-Tilla (10), Nudumar (10—Hurrian?), Nuḥza (46), Nui-šeri (6—cf. Nai-šeri)

Pai-šar (8), Pai-Tilla (16), Pakāya (9), Puḥiya (44), Puḥi(u)-šenni (33, 44), Pui-tae (11, 12, 18), Pūya (7)

Rišuliḥi (14)

Sari-Tešup (19), Sariya (10, 15), Satê (10)

Šadnambe (8), Šartēya (12), Šeḥel-Tešup (17, 19, 41), Šekaru (6), Šennā'a (14, 44), Šilwā'a (7), Šurki-Tilla (31, 42), Šurku(m)-ari (9, 14, 44), Šurukka (46)

Tā'a (8, 25, 33), Tae (10, 41), Takku (22), Takūya (17), Tamartae (8, 14— = *GIŠ-PÚ-ta-e?*—*tamar* = "well" in Hurrian?), Turara (41), Turar-Tešup (19), Tūya (17)

Ubara(?)—tae (26), Urḥi-Tešup (15), Uzuzi (44), Uzzunni (22)

Wantiššenni (9, 12, 16, 45, 46— = Bentešina, name of king of Amurru?), Waullu (*PI-ul-lu*—8, 13, 19, 44), Werra (14), Werraḥ (35)

Zigi (1, 11, 20, 26, 31), Zillu-šar (44), Zirip-Tilla (19), Zizza (2), Zunzu (44), Zūya (9).

The Cossaeon tablets are dated in the reigns of Nazimaruttaš, Kudur-Ellil and Šagarakti-Šuriaš, but do not seem to present any special interest. Nor are the Assyrian documents more interesting, aside from two which have already been published by Kohler and Ungnad. The Babylonian tablets are of more value, and are for the most part well preserved. No. 99, already published by Thureau-Dangin, proves that Nabopolassar had a large Median force with him during the siege of Harrân, probably about 608 B.C. Nos. 136–7 are letters of Belshazzar, but have no significance. For students of Neo-Babylonian civilization the collection here published has its own importance. Dr. Contenau deserves the hearty thanks of Assyriologists for his publication.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea to which are added his Statues as Part II. By Ira Maurice Price. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927, pp. 169. Mk. 50.

In 1899 the first part of this work appeared. Since that time, the author has spent much time on these inscriptions. In 1901 he tested once more the readings of Cylinders A and B with the originals in the Louvre. Various attempts have been made since 1906 to complete this work, which at last has been successful, for which all students of Sumerian are now most grateful.

In preparing this volume Professor Price has taken advantage of the fine work done by Thureau-Dangin, Witzel, and others, and the volume before us is priceless in scholarly and critical value. Moreover, it is the first appearance of these inscriptions in a complete English dress, for we have here not only a full transliteration with notes, vocabulary, and sign-lists, but also a very accurate and excellent translation—in short, a full and complete publication of Gudea's inscriptions with full critical and supplementary material. Of prime importance are the complete critical notes at the foot of each page; and of great usefulness are the summary contents of the cylinders and statues and the full and useful bibliography.

The book should form an ideal reading text for students of the Sumerian language, for together with Part I, and with the excellent vocabulary and sign-list in this part, the student has all apparatus necessary for exercise in reading and translating the original text. I intend to use these two parts as reading texts with my students. The two parts should be widely used, for they are dependable in every respect.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Records from Erech. Time of Cyrus and Cambyses. By Arch Tremayne. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925, pp. 48, pls. 74.

This is the seventh volume in the Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts. It contains 198 texts, all dated in the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses 538–521 B.C., and they came from Erech and its environs. A few are dated at Babylon and Larsa. The tablets are well preserved and their script is clear. Most of the documents are legal and commercial, but some of them deal with religious customs. These texts reveal the fact that in the Persian period, as well as at other times, the temple was the hub of legal and business transactions.

Some of these texts are of especial interest; No. 7 is the trial of Gimillu, a most unusual court trial. It was conducted before five officials and fifteen jurymen, with four scribes present. Nos. 31 and 35 also deal

with the same Gimillu. No. 8 is a good specimen of the auditing of accounts in the Persian period. These texts also furnish valuable information about the *Širgātu*, a class of temple slaves.

The volume is furnished with very full indices of personal names, names of places, temples, canals and gates, and a complete catalogue of the texts. The work of autographing is beautifully done.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

A History of the Pharaohs. By Arthur Weigall. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1927, pp. 424. 21/- net.

This is Volume II of Weigall's interesting and original history of the Pharaohs, covering that period of Egyptian history from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasties inclusive. This book challenges the attention of every student of ancient Egyptian history, for it not only brings together in a connected way and in an interesting manner what was formerly known about ancient Egyptian history, but it also makes use of new material and reinterprets some old material.

Many new solutions of old problems in Egyptian history have been offered by Mr. Weigall. For instance, he gives a full discussion of his original chronology of the period covered by the book, and exhibits in a remarkable table on page 32 how the known material fits into the Turin Papyrus' total for the length of the Twelfth Dynasty, and in another table on page 239 his new arrangement of the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties. Moreover, he seems to have fixed the date of Khyan, the last Hyksos pharaoh, to have ruled all Egypt. He has made many contributions to an understanding of the difficulties of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For example, he attributes thirteen years to the reign of Thutmose I, and dates the obelisks of Hatshepsut to the 16th year of Thutmose II instead of to the 16th year of Thutmose III, thus making clear the sequence of events in that Queen's life.

The author has made a brave attempt at fixing the dates of the Hebrew patriarchs and of the Exodus, which cannot as yet be considered final.

Of the eight interesting chapters into which the book is divided, chapters two to eight take up systematically the reigns of the pharaohs of dynasties twelve to eighteen. But chapter one contains a most useful study of Egyptian chronology, which, with the study of the same problem in the first volume, is in itself a great contribution to this difficult problem. In the preface, the author contributes a list of corrections to the first volume, which every student should observe. There are sixteen excellent plates of illustrations, with a partial list of the pharaohs of the period covered by this volume.

Although one may not always be able to follow the author's reasoning, for example, on pages 236 and 255, where he arrives at important conclusions on slim bases, yet it must be admitted that Weigall has done a brilliant piece of work, and we await with keenness his next volume in this series. So far, it is the very best work on the subject.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Psalmists. Edited by D. C. Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 197. 7/6 net.

This is a series of essays on the Psalmists, their religious experience and teaching, their social background, and their place in the development of Hebrew Psalmody. The essays are of very unequal value, the best being that of G. R. Driver on the "Psalms in the Light of Babylonian Research." It is sane and reserved, in contradistinction to much which is written on that particular subject. He holds that the resemblances found between Babylonian and Hebrew "are the outcome of thoughts common to the greater part of mankind, and that here at least the Hebrew Psalmists are not to be regarded as having come under Babylonian influence." Blackman's essay on "The Psalms in the Light of Egyptian Research" is a bit disappointing in view of the excellent work which we are accustomed to expect from his pen. He is still under the impression that Israel's excellencies must come from abroad. Gressmann's essay "The Development of Hebrew Psalmody" is decidedly good, as also are the two essays by H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Inner Life of the Psalmists" and "The Social Life of the Psalmists." But the two essays by T. H. Robinson are rather poor especially his "Eschatology of the Psalmists, which is very incomplete.

The proof-reading of the book has been very badly done, an error occurring even in the title of one of the essayists, for example, "Professor de Theologie." Dr. Simpson's introduction is brief and informing. On the whole, the essays are well worth while.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Palästina-Literatur. Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren- und Sachregister. Herausgegeben von Peter Thomsen. Bd. IV, Die Literatur der Jahre 1915-1924. I. Hälfte: Bogen 1-25. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927, pp. 400. Mk. 20.

This is a part of volume four of Thomsen's well-known and indispensable bibliography. The introduction and abbreviations will appear in the finished volume. This part contains 4925 numbers. The whole

is to be divided into six sections, of which four, as well as a part of the fifth, is included in this book. The six parts are: Allgemeines, Geschichte, Archäologie, Historische Geographie und Topographie, Geographie, and Das heutige Palästina. Herr Thomsen has already done such reliable work that one wishes that no other bibliographies in this particular field were published, but that all workers of all nations would send their material to Thomsen in order that his volumes may be absolutely complete and be accepted as the recognized international bibliography on Palestine. This would eliminate a good deal of unnecessary duplication. If this were done perhaps Herr Thomsen could publish a volume every year, so that students and scholars would not have to wait so long for the bibliographies.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Palestine and Syria—The Country, the People, and the Landscape. By Karl Gröber. New York: Via—Lens Publications, pp. XIV, 192 pages of plates.

The introductory fourteen pages of this unusual book contain a condensation of useful information about Palestine and Syria—a brief outline of history from very early times until today (in the case of Palestine and Syria), with two pages about Mesopotamia from about 4000 B.C. There is a good index of names and places, as well as two good maps, one of Palestine and the other of the ancient Nearer Orient.

The permanent value of this book lies in the 192 pages of splendid modern pictures of Palestine and Syria. It has been a real pleasure to examine them. It makes one feel as if he had again spent some days in modern Palestine and Syria. Not a library and not a Christian home in the land should be without this unique volume. The choice of pictures is beyond criticism, except that the striking façade of Petra is missing.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament. Von Johannes Hempel. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, pp. 224. Mk. 9.60.

In a series of five chapters, the author discusses in systematic manner the problem of Old Testament piety. His first chapter treats of the "Fear" of Jehovah, and the second of the "Power" of Jehovah. These two ideas are then used in the author's treatment of the prophet and of the individual Israelite in his relationship to Jehovah. The treatment is conservative, and yet full of penetrating criticism and originality of observation.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von Ditlef Nielsen. I. Band, *Die altarabische Kultur.* Kopenhagen: Arnold Busck 1927, pp. 272, 76 Abb.

At last the Glaser collection is to be published, for which we are to thank Dr. Nielsen. The publication is to take three volumes. Dr. Nielsen has been fortunate enough to interest Professor Buhl of Kopenhagen in his undertaking, as well as the Rask-Ørstedfond and the Carlsbergfond, and his friend Professor Rhodokanakis of Vienna secured the co-operation of the Wiener Akademie. Professor Hommel of Munich an old friend of Glaser, has assisted Nielsen and Rhodokanakis in the production of this the first volume.

Dr. Nielsen opens the discussion with a history of the science of South Arabian culture and civilization, and this is followed by a learned outline of South Arabian history by Professor Hommel. No one could have done that better than Hommel. Rhodokanakis wrote the third chapter on the life of ancient South Arabia. The fourth chapter was written by Adolf Grohmann on the archaeology of South Arabia; and the last chapter is by Nielsen himself on the religion of ancient South Arabia. This chapter is particularly interesting and original.

In this volume students of the ancient Nearer Orient are introduced to new and important material which will furnish food for much thought. The authors of this volume have added a whole new chapter to the history of the Nearer Oriental civilization. We look forward with eagerness to the next two volumes. May they not be too long in appearing! Every Orientalist and Oriental Library will want to subscribe to this important publication.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Kings of the Hittites. By D. G. Hogarth. London: Humphrey Milford (Oxford Univ. Press), 1926, pp. 67. 6/- net.

The Schweich Lectures for 1924 were delivered by Dr. Hogarth and are now available to the public in the excellent form characteristic of the series. There are three lectures and fifty illustrations, besides a map of North Syria and the Hittite area.

Dr. Hogarth conducts his readers over the length and breadth of the area in which Hittite monuments have been found, his purpose being to illustrate the civilization of those Hittite kings who were contemporary with the Hebrews of the Monarchy, and to try to discover their origin and racial character. He finds the Hittites of the period and area under consideration to have been the youngest and latest branch of the Hittite cultural stem, being small men in comparison with either the Cappadocian Hatti or the contemporary Assyrians. However, their achievement in

developing and prolonging the life of a highly individual art and a wholly independent system of writing was a notable one. Who those Hittite kings were, of what race or races, how they came to Northern Syria and South-Eastern Asia Minor, and whence and why they were equipped with a variety of the particular and peculiar civilization which had been proper to the imperial Hatti of the Second Millennium—these and many other questions cannot as yet be answered, but the author has largely prepared the way for their solution.

Dr. Hogarth has presented many a difficult problem in this series of lectures. Their solution is nearer than before Dr. Hogarth's penetrating study was made. We now have two excellent contributions to the Hittite problem presented by Fellows of the British Academy—this book and that by Dr. Cowley in the Schweich Series of 1918.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die altelamischen Texte. Von F. W. König. Bd. I, *Corpus Inscriptionum Elamitarum*, herausgegeben von F. W. König, unter Mitwirkung von F. Bork und G. Hüsing. Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1926, 68 Tafeln. Mk. 15.

Elam among the ancient nearer Oriental nations has been comparatively neglected. At the present time, the empire of the Hittites occupies the center of the stage of oriental interest. Thanks to Herr F. W. König, we are now to have a thorough and scholarly treatment of the extant Elamitic material. In this the first volume of a series we have sixty-eight excellently copied and splendidly reproduced cuneiform Elamitic texts. This will be followed by other texts. The author next plans a transliteration and translation. Then he probably will reconstruct a grammar, and he already has in view a dictionary.

Scholars and students of the ancient nearer Orient will greet this new publication with much joy. The author is to be congratulated and so is the publisher, Herr Heinz Lafaire. They both have made a first-rate contribution to Oriental research, and the first edition of the book should be rapidly bought out. This great work takes its place among the most important in the libraries of Orientalists.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Milton's Semitic Studies. By Harris Francis Fletcher. University of Chicago Press 1926, p. 165. \$3.00.

The author gives a good survey of Semitic studies in the seventeenth century; then he goes over Milton's Semitic training, the Semitic languages and literature which he knew, and the testimony of Milton's poetry to this

knowledge. Professor Fletcher proves that Milton was a very good Hebrew scholar—with a working knowledge of Aramaic. Very important indeed was the influence of Jewish theology on Milton's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Professor Fletcher thinks that Milton had some knowledge of Ethiopic and Arabic. This is very doubtful. More probably he relied for these versions on the Latin translations which accompany them in Walton's polyglot.

Professor Fletcher shows a good deal of familiarity with the Semitic field. We are not however quite satisfied with the confusion he seems to make (p. 74) between the rabbinical commentaries and the Masorah. Indeed the whole paragraph on that page should be rewritten. Neither do we like the epithet "Hebraic" given to the Talmud (p. 87) "Jewish" would be better. We wonder also whether the term "Semitic" so often used in the book could not have been replaced by "Hebrew" or "Jewish." The term Semitic was not in use in Milton's time. Moreover, Milton's knowledge of non Jewish Semitic languages was probably negligible. But these are minor criticisms of an excellent piece of work which has definite value.

J. A. MAYNARD

On the Trail of Ancient Man. By R. C. Andrews. New York: Putman's Sons, 1926, pp. 375, ill. 58.

This narrative of field work carried out under the leadership of the author is one of the most vivid, charming, and interesting of its kind. Every chapter has its thrills. It is a monument to the business acumen, the power of leadership and organizing ability of Dr. Andrews. This expedition shows what courage backed by money can do. The archaeologist and explorer of the Ancient Nearer East is not accustomed to think in terms of a \$250,000 expedition. He would, therefore, wonder at the poverty of results for such an enormous outlay. Indeed, the casual reader of this book may wonder how American public men can be induced to subscribe such an enormous sum for what seems to have been a rather thrilling but withal a pleasant hunting expedition. Dr. Andrews deserves congratulations upon his ability to raise such great sums for apparently such meagre results. But the careful student will see that few though the scientific contributions of the expedition may be found to have been, nevertheless, the discovery of the Dinosaur eggs is in itself a mighty scientific triumph.

Henry Fairfield Osborn contributes an introduction and a chapter, a fact which testifies to the scientific value of the results achieved by the expedition. Dr. Andrews carried through a great venture, and all students of the ancient past are indebted to him. Would that we had a Dr. Andrews for Hittite organization and research!

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients. Von Hans Bonnet. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926, pp. 221, ills. 107. Mk. 12.

This really is a comparative study of the arms of the peoples of ancient Oriental countries. Incidentally the author has sought to show the influence of one part of the Oriental world on another. This special piece of work, which was completed six years ago, should have been long ago published, for although confined to a narrow field, it is far-reaching in the light it throws upon general problems. Each implement of defence and war is studied in turn, with excellently drawn illustrations, and the whole discussion is well documented, with proper chronological arrangement. Dr. Bonnet has done a fine piece of work, and both he and Messrs. Hinrichs of Leipzig deserve the thanks of all Oriental students in publishing this useful work.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Grundriß der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients. Von Fritz Hommel. Zweite Hälfte (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, von Walter Otto. Dritte Abteilung. Erster Teil. Erster Band). München: C. H. Beck, 1926, pp. 401-1108. Mk. 32.

In 1904 Hommel published the first part of a book which has become famous. Now after twenty-two years the second part has appeared. The original plan in the author's mind is indicated by the above title. The actual title of this second part is to be found on the title-page and reads *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*. This change in policy has been brought about by the magnitude of the material collected by the author. In spite of upward of eleven hundred closely packed pages, the author could not spare any space for history. Would that it were possible for the venerable author to begin and complete his history! However, the world of scholarship is grateful for these eleven hundred pages of original, keen, accurate, and scholarly research in the most difficult of all Oriental problems.

The part before us begins in the middle of section 98, where part one left off, in the midst of the author's treatment of the Ethnology and Geography of Chaldea, where he is marshalling his wonderful array of facts about Eridu, Uri, Kêš, Kullab, Marad, Borsippa, Dilbat, Agade, and the small cities of Chaldea, such as Bit-Jakin and Larak. This is followed by a fruitful discussion of the origin of Babylonian culture. Following this, over two hundred pages are devoted to Arabia, and the rest to East and North Africa, mostly Egypt, whose 42 nomes are treated in order and in detail. Fifty-six pages in small print are devoted to additions and corrections; sixty-five to a three-columned register; and there is one page of illustrations and one map of Babylonia.

In spite of the many contributions which Professor Hommel has made in this rich mass of material there still remain over ninety place-names in the Tell el-Amarna tablets on which he has thrown no new light. These remain for future research in the geography of Western Asia. There are others upon which he has commented with signal success, such is Magdalin, Hinnatuni, and the district or land of Gaza (cf. pp. 603, 612).

Everywhere unexpected details of useful material are met with, e.g. on page 419, we have a six-columned table of the Babylonian and Biblical ante-deluvian patriarchs, where the latest material is utilized. In section 117, Hommel brings to bear the results of his wide researches in Turkish ethnology, grammar, and history to demonstrate his theory of the origin of Babylonian culture.

In his sections on Arabia and especially South Arabia, we have a coordination of material made accessible for the first time. The rich finds of Edward Glaser in South Arabia, yet unpublished, have been drawn upon in these pages with great fullness. Students will be reading material here new and fresh. No one has made a deeper study of the culture of ancient South Arabia than Professor Hommel. In section 123, the author has much to say about Magan and Meluch, where strange to say, one misses the name of Professor Albright, and a reference to his penetrating studies on the geography of these much-disputed places. In passing it is interesting to note how Hommel relates the two rivers Gaihan and Saihan to the Pyramos and Saros in Cilicia.

Professor Hommel, although not a professed Egyptologist, has demonstrated his mastery of Egyptian ethnology and geography in those wonderful sections beginning with section 174, where it should be said by the way, that he seeks to prove the theory of the Babylonian origin of Egyptian culture. One of the brilliant comparisons which he makes use of is the similarity in meaning and in method of writing between the name of Osiris and that of Marduk. This comparison, however, was made first, I believe, by C. J. Ball of Oxford. Another interesting comparison is that of Ninib with Horus, and still another is that of Nephthys with Ešganna.

To make an adequate appraisal of this remarkable book, one would have to write another book, for every page and every sentence is packed with unusual, fresh, and technical material. Fragments of new texts, translations, new meanings of difficult terms, and brilliant combinations of bits of unusual informations are numerous. This rich outpouring of the learning of a busy, brilliant, and penetrating mind is worth far more than many times the cost of this volume. Here is a mine, almost fathomless, of rich material. One has only to collect the passages from the Pyramid Texts, as an example, to realize the fullness of learning represented by this great work.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations. By W. A. Jayne. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925, pp. 569. \$5.00.

This is the only attempt ever made on an adequate scale to present an account of prehistoric and early historic medicine; and the work has been wonderfully well done. In the first place, the writer is himself a physician and surgeon, and, in the second place, he has been careful to consult authorities in the various special fields in which he has carried on his investigations. Of course, the author has not been able to cull illustrations for every great civilization, but he has selected for his study those which preceded and overlapped the Christian era. He has approached his subject strictly from a historical standpoint, avoiding all theories and controversial matters as far as possible.

There are eight chapters in the book—chapters on the healing gods of Ancient Egypt, of Babylonia and Assyria, of the Pagan Semites of the West, of Ancient India, of Ancient Iran, of Ancient Greece, of Ancient Rome, and of the Ancient Celts. The most interesting to us are the first two chapters, and here it can be said that the work has been very thoroughly done.

Dr. Jayne has now made it possible for a reader or student to discover with ease the chief characteristics and the individual contributions of various ancient peoples to the science of the prevention and treatment of disease. The whole work is a fascinating one, and one of the lessons taught by this book is the knowledge of the part played in the past, at least, by religion and the priests of religion in the great quest for health. Dr. Jayne himself often seems to disparage the "priest," but he must admit that in medicine, as well as in almost all other sciences, the priest has been the pioneer, for which he should receive due credit.

One looks in vain in this book for a treatment of healing among the Hebrews. Why was this omission made? Furthermore, while Dr. Jayne's bibliography is good, there are various important and serious omissions, such, for example, as Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, 1923; *The Assyrian Herbal*, 1924; and *The Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*, 1925. These are serious omissions, for these three books are the greatest that have ever appeared on Assyrian medicine. Hurry's *Imhotep, the Vizier and Physician of King Zoser*, 1926, appeared too late for the author's use. Dr. Jayne has made a great beginning in his particular work, but there remains still a great deal to be done. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

L'Égypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments. By M^{me} R. L. Devonshire. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926, pp. 163, 39 plates.

The author of this book is an authority on Egyptian architecture. In this beautiful volume she gives a history of Moslem Egypt with special

emphasis on the monuments found in Cairo. The history itself is accurate and interesting and the plates are excellent reproductions of photographs by Mr. Creswell, himself an authority in the same field. There are two small errors: p. 97, read Gaudefroy—Demombynes; p. 154 last line, read 1798. We know no better book for the general public.

J. A. MAYNARD

La pénétration en Mauritanie. By Commandant Gillier. Paris: Geuthner, 1926, pp. 361, 2 maps. Fr. 60.

The work of the French in the North of the Senegal river called Mauritanie has been truly remarkable. In this desert region inhabited by nomadic warrior tribes and by maraboutic tribes, often oppressed by the warriors, peace now reigns, under the protection of a few hundred native soldiers, officered by a few Frenchmen. The present volume tells of the history of this conquest. The first period is from the days of Hanno to 1817. The second is a period of preparation from 1817 to 1902 with the great name of Faidherbe, the third period is from 1902 to 1910 with the great name of Coppelani, and the occupation of Adrar. The fourth period from 1910 to 1925 tells of the maintenance of order by, what would be called by Anglo-Saxons, military police. The second part of the work tells of present problems caused by the non-occupation of Rio de Oro by the Spaniards and of the region of the Draa by the Moroccan protectorate. The author takes up the problem of the utilization of automobiles and radio. It is noteworthy that there is in Mauretania no religious question, the good Moslems there being quite satisfied with the French policy. Because of the wealth of his information, the clearness of his ideas, the author has written a first class historical work.

J. A. MAYNARD

Grammaire Kurde. By Paul Beidar. Paris: Geuthner, 1926, pp. 77. Fr. 15.

The author of this charming grammar is thoroughly at home in the Kurdish language and in Kurdish ways. The dialect studied here is that of Zakho-Jezirah. A unique feature of the grammar is that each paragraph ends with a Kurdish proverb and each chapter with a story from Kurdish folk lore with a French translation. Unhappily the author has not had sufficient philological training. It strikes one as a rather naive remark, when he writes "Le kurde a beaucoup d'analogie avec le français; *d'ou cela provient-il nous ne saurions le dire*" (page 2, italics ours). It seems strange to see words like *Kanoun* compared to the French *canon*, when both in Kurdish and French they are loan words from Greek. The author does not differentiate between pure kurdish and kurmanjized Turkish and Arabic words, coming into Kurmanji through Persian. Father Beidar gives

no bibliography, and is apparently not aware of the fairly large number of Kurdish works known to orientalists. Cf. Socin, in *Grundriß des Iranischen. Philologie* I, 2, 253-4; Soane, *Kurdish Grammar*, p. V-VI. Thus, and also because of its small size, Beidar's grammar is inferior to those of Soane, Jardine, and Fossum, but it is an excellent book for beginners.

J. A. MAYNARD

Die Slaven. By A. Bruckner. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926, p. 46. Mk. 2.

This is a second edition of the section on the Slavs in the *Religions-geschichtliches Lesebuch* edited by Bertholet. It is, like the other numbers of the series, a source book with introduction and notes. The date of some of these documents is comparatively late and their accuracy is not always of the best. The work of Dr. Bruckner is excellently done and necessary to every student of religion.

J. A. MAYNARD

Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University. Edited by W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 287, pls. 19. \$10.00.

Fifty-five texts are given in this work with copious notes and translations of most of the texts. The texts are divided into two periods, the Ptolemaic and the Roman. Five texts date from the former period and the rest from the Roman period. The earliest text is assigned to 256 B.C. and the latest to 302 A.D. The most interesting text of the earlier period is a "Record of Lamp Oil assigned to the Retinue of Apollonius." The other fifty are classified as follows: Contracts, petitions, declarations to officials, taxation, accounts and lists, receipts, correspondence. There is one fragment, which is probably mythological, but it is too imperfect to be translated. The whole work was typewritten and is printed from plates. It is furnished with classified indices, covering forty pages. The editors deserve great praise in their careful work, and the book makes a real contribution to our understanding of the business and political life of the Roman period in Egypt.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

« *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* », des influences classiques dans la civilisation de l'Inde. Par le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. Paris, 1926.

This work, by a distinguished Belgian indianist, is a new edition of the book originally printed in 1897. At first thought, it might seem a pity to reprint what was written nearly a generation ago without some attempt to bring it up to date. Assuredly there has been much knowledge, archaeo-

logical and literary, gathered since the Comte d'Alviella published his first edition. One has only to recall such names as those of Stein, Thomas, Spooner, Holdich, and many another, to remind ourselves of the immense amount of work done on Indian contacts with the western world in recent years.

Nevertheless, the book, as a comparison with chapter xxii of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, will immediately show, contains little which subsequent scholarship has rendered out of date and its omissions alter surprisingly little the conclusions reached.

It is clear that the India of three centuries before Christ and until some three centuries after Christ, was in some ways powerfully influenced by hellenism. Alexander's wedge, driven into India, was no mere raid. India certainly did not immediately "let the legions thunder past, and plunged in thought again." The place of the Yavanas (and Yavanis) in the courts of the succeeding dynasties is abundantly evidenced. The Indo-Bactrian king Menander was a disseminator of Greek ideas as well as of Buddhism. The coinage of India bears on every hand the impress of Greek mythology as well as of Greek art. There is justification for the author's statement, so far as this period is concerned: "Tout l'Orient était plus ou moins hellénisé et c'est en ce sens que Sénèque pouvait écrire": « Il y a en Asie affluence d'Athéniens. »

When we come to consider particular types of culture influenced in one direction or the other, the evidence is frequently so mixed as to make dogmatism unusually risky. In architecture, for example, there are in India some elements which suggest the Greek, but more which suggest an imitation of earlier wood or bamboo work. Some architecture, too, suggests rather the influence of a Persipolitan or Iranian impulsions. Some again appears to be Roman rather than Greek. The coinage, as noted above, is more definitely Greek, with Greek profiles in evidence, and subjects such as Hercules, Helios, Niké, Selené and Hephaestus. In Literature there are probable infiltrations of western motif and language, but the impossibility of dating accurately particular passages of the epics makes it difficult to draw any satisfactory conclusion. The Drama seems to many to present features which are Greco-Bactrian or Roman, but M. Sylvain Lévy sturdily (and with force) still maintains his theory that the Indian drama is a truly native product. The Migration of Fables from India to Greece and to Europe generally has long been a favorite subject of research, but the possibility of separate origins must not be overlooked. In matters of philosophy much is to be said for the priority of certain philosophic ideas in India, though most histories of ancient philosophy still decline to think of any philosophy earlier than the Greeks. An interesting part of the Comte d'Alviella's book concerns the possible relations of Christianity and Buddhism in matters of

doctrines, rites and institutions. The question is left much where it still remains to day, with some balance of evidence in favor of the belief that Buddhism was influenced by Christianity rather than the other way about.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

« *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du X^e Siècle* », édité et traduit par Joseph Hackin, Conservateur du Musée Guimet.

To properly appraise this volume, which is part of the series resulting from the Pelliot Mission to Central Asia, would require a knowledge of the Tibetan, in addition to Sanscrit, to which I can lay no claim. It may suffice here to give a description of the contents of the volume rather than any criticism. The manuscript translated is one of those numerous Tibetan documents discovered by M. Pelliot in the neighborhood of the Tun-huang oasis, a place made memorable by the discovery of Sir M. A. Stein's "Polyglot Library." It is composed of seven small leaves, carefully joined together end to end, thus forming a small roll. The text is given in Sanscrit and Tibetan in alternate lines, with the colophon and one or two lists in Tibetan alone. There is nothing especially remarkable about the formula itself. It presents that admixture of Buddhism with Indian ideas, which is characteristic of the religion introduced into Tibet from India after Gautama's teaching had lost its first purity. But the document is shown to be valuable for other reasons than for its religious contents. Some light, for instance, is thrown upon the complicated subject of Tibetan history and the succession of the Tibetan rulers. Still more interest attaches to the orthographical peculiarities which seem to confirm the opinion of Sir Aurel Stein that the Tun-huang oasis was in a special way under the influence of Tibetan colonies who issued their own local editions of religious formularies. An interesting reference is made in the notes to the relation of the Yoga school of Tibetan Buddhism with the Buddhistic sect established eventually in Japan under the name of Hossō.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

"*Further Dialogues of the Buddha.*" Translated from the Pāli of the Majjhima Nikāya by Lord Chalmers, G.C.B., Sometime Governor of Ceylon. Vol. II. Oxford University Press.

It is fortunately characteristic of many leading officials in British Government employ that they recognize cultural opportunities in foreign lands as well as the obligation to pursue the routine of administration. Lord Chalmers has had much official experience, ranging from the Governorship of Ceylon to the Undersecretaryship of Ireland, but his real tastes are betrayed in the fact that he has also served as President

of the Royal Asiatic Society and as Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. His work as a Pāli scholar includes, beside the present work, a translation of the Buddhist Jātaka.

The present volume contains the translation of 24 *Suttas* (sutras) from the Majjhima Pāṇṇāsa and 52 from the Upari Pāṇṇāsa. As translations they are singularly fresh and give us the rendering of Buddhist terms in simple, unhackneyed English. What might otherwise have been tiresome through its repetitious Buddhist phraseology is so lucidly translated that every Sutta is a pleasure to read. Of course, it should be remembered that the repetitions which so often annoy the modern reader had for the monks a considerable pedagogic value. Only by endless repetition could the doctrines of the faith be intelligently disseminated. The Indian disposition to classify and reduce everything to categories is always wearisome to the western mind, but, at their worst, the Suttas are a great improvement on the runes of the Brahmins. As to these our authors are exceedingly scornful. "It is like" says one, "a string of blind men each holding on to his neighbor, the first of whom he cannot see, nor can the hindmost." It is evident that the disciples of Gautama kept up a lively polemic against both the Brahmins and the Jains. Many also are the gibes against the system of caste.

In literary form the Suttas frequently break away from the Buddhist schematism and take a form reminding us not a little of the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. One special feature, reminding us of portions of the Book of Proverbs, is the multitude of metaphors drawn from the habits of animals. Ants and bulls, calves, dogs and jackals, monkeys, deer and elephants, crabs and serpents, hens, owls and quails, are all effectively employed to teach the moral lessons of which mankind stands in need.

The Suttas as a whole illustrate the Socratic method of teaching truth, and must have had considerable influence in making Buddhism both popular and successful.

As a specimen of Lord Chalmers' translation of the many poetical passages the following will serve as well as any other:

"If fortune grant a trusty, staunch, true friend,
with him face dangers, gladly, manfully.
If fortune grant you no such trusty friend,
go forth alone,—as monarchs go whose realms
are lost, as elephant in lonely glade;
go forth alone, iniquity eschew,
care-free as elephant in lonely glade."

HERBERT H. GOWEN

"*A history of the Maratha people.*" By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Vol. III. Oxford University Press.

In this volume Mr. Kincaid (who has been assisted in his task by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis) completes the labor of eleven long years spent in telling the story of the Maratha people. The history of the last hundred years, during which the Marathas have been loyal subjects of an English monarch, he has left untold. This period he intended at first to cover, but his excuse for declining the task at this date is the excuse of Michelet, « L'âge me presse ».

As the story stands, brought down to the end of the Chitpavan epic, we have unfolded before us a remarkable record of Indian prowess, the gallant story of a people who earned the respect of their many foes from the days of the Moguls down to the conquest of their territory by Gt. Britain.

To the western reader the names of the many rulers and their generals must inevitably be bewildering. It is doubtful whether even such figures as Madhavrao and Bajirao can ever mean very much to the Occident. But Mr. Kincaid explains that he is writing largely for the Marathas themselves, and to these every hero is a man of mark, whose prowess will awaken infinite admiration and respect. And even to the western reader, the record of this spirited race, with its many tragedies of defeat as well as splendors of victory, is an enthralling one. Mr. Kincaid has ample warrant for the enthusiasm which has kept him at his self-imposed task for so many years. He is right in reminding us that the Marathas did not lose their fine qualities when they became British subjects, and he refers to men like Sir Ramkrishna Dhandarkar, Telang, the orator, Apte, Ranade and Chandavarkar in proof. He adds: "As long as the Indian army endures, its officers will remember with gratitude the valor of the Maratha sepoys in the many battles, fought in Irak on the banks of the Tigris, and on the banks of the Euphrates."

It remains to be said that the "*History of the Maratha people*" is exceedingly well documented, the Appendices at the close of the several chapters furnishing valuable material which the student of history will appreciate.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

"*Asoka.*" By James M. Macphail, M.A., M.D. "Heritage of India Series," Oxford University Press.

Mr. H. G. Wells, making a recent discovery of the existence of Aśoka, hails him as one of the topmost figures in history. Few probably will rise up to dispute the estimate. It is certainly one of the curiosities of history

that a ruler who is absolutely ignored by the earliest English writers on the story of India should now be placed in the front rank of the monarchs of the peninsula from the beginning to the era of Akbar. Dr. Macphail, who has compressed into less than a hundred pages his account of the great Buddhist emperor, mentions comparisons of Aśoka with Akbar himself, as well as with St. Paul, Constantine, Marcus Aurelius and Oliver Cromwell. That the last named should be thought of in the same breath with the imperial patron of monkhood who himself became a monk is surely evidence of the many-sided interest of the subject of this little book.

One opens the book at first with a fear that the author may do nothing more in so small a compass than serve up anew the material used in the studies of Vincent Smith. But, as one reads on, the freshness of the present treatment and its point of view becomes apparent. One gets a real impression of Aśoka as Man and as Monarch, as Missionary and Scribe, as well as an entrance into the historical setting of his remarkable reign. Dr. Macphail well says that the career of Aśoka is one for the youth of present-day India to take to heart.

Outside of Indian territory the author is not quite so sure of his ground. For instance, on p. 46, speaking of Emperors who became monks, he instances "a Chinese Emperor, Kao-tsu Wu-ti, in the 6th century of the Christian era." The reference is not to Kao-tsu, but to Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 502 to 550. The name Wu-ti, it should be remembered, merely means "Warrior Emperor" and occurs in a number of dynasties.

When, on p. 21, mention is made of the "Six Boards" into which the government of Pataliputra was divided, one wonders whether there was any connection between these and the Six Boards which made up the Chinese administrative system from B.C. 1122 down to recent times.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Harsha. By Radhakumud Mookerji. London: Humphrey Milford, 1926, pp. 203. 6 s/.

These are the Calcutta University Readership Lectures for 1925. Professor Mookerji has produced a succinct and scholarly piece of work describing conditions in India in the reign of the great Harshavardana. He has made good use of the best literary sources for the period, the Harsacharita of Bana, the court poet of the day, who wrote from close observation, and also of the historic account of Yuan Chwang, who was in India from A.D. 637 to 642. He has also used the report of the Chinese I-tsing, who, although visiting India after Harsha's death, has given valuable information of the condition of the country in that time. Dr. Mookerji has also done careful work in studying the Gupta inscriptions and in drawing

light therefrom on the perplexing questions of governmental administration under these emperors.

In spite of the book's brevity, it is probably the best critical history we have of the reign of Harsha.

D. A. Mcgregor

"*The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies.*" By Hannes Sköld. Lund, London, Paris, Leipzig, Oxford University Press, 1926.

This is a very thorough and scholarly piece of work. The author, beginning with an aim which was purely linguistic, has developed his study into an important treatment of Old Indian philology. The Nirukta, it may be well to explain, is one of those six classes of literature the Brahmans call Vedangas, that is, the six members of the Veda. Of these the fourth class is that of the Niruktas, concerning itself with etymology. In this literature Yaska occupies the same position as does Panini in the Vedanga of Grammar. Other Niruktakāras, or authors of Niruktas, are, however, mentioned. It is interesting to notice that the Indian mind was much concerned with language and its laws as a branch of sacred study. As early as the Vedic times we find expressions of wonder over the philosophical implications of speech. Later came the scientific interest which has given us the rather abstruse etymological speculations of the Nirukta.

Mr. Hannes Sköld's book carries us considerably further than the results of previous investigators in several particulars. The author declines to accept many of the old etymologies which were made on the basis of the Indo-European hypothesis. He finds, in these cases, a more natural explanation in the phonological history of India itself. Many words he believes to be autochthonous rather than derived. He is also convinced that the work ascribed hitherto to Yaska is by no means homogeneous, but contains several strata. He asserts, moreover, that "even in the times of Yaska and his predecessors, the language spoken in India was not Old Indian, but rather a form of Middle Indian of what is called the Pali stage."

The work is much too technical for a brief review to do it justice, but no notice at all is adequate which does not congratulate the Royal Society of Letters of the University of Lund for undertaking the printing of the volume.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature. By J. M. Harden. London: S.P.C.K. (N.Y.: Macmillan), 1926, pp. VI, III.

"*Eine wirkliche Geschichte der äthiopischen Literatur zu schreiben ist bei dem jetzigen Stande der Forschung noch nicht möglich*"; with these words Littman introduces his valuable treatment of the subject, published in 1909. What was true then is equally true now; but the largely increased number

of available texts, translations, books, and articles in scores of journals treating of this ancient Church and incidentally of its literature, has made the providing of a guide through this maze for the general reading a thing much to be desired. We looked forward from the time we first saw the announcement of the forthcoming book with eager anticipation; we have read it with increasing disappointment. It is in no sense worthy of comparison with Littman's sketch (*Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, pp. 187-269, with a valuable index, pp. 277-281), and a translation of this sketch, for the English reader, would have been a much more useful introduction to the subject.

In his preface Dr. Harden says his work "Is not meant for Ethiopic scholars"; this, we think, makes it all the more necessary that the general reader should find here a sufficient statement of what Ethiopic literature is, together with a guide for further reading and study. We might also expect some brief indication of aids to the study of the language, should the reader become interested; we find several references to Dillmann's invaluable *Chrestomathie*, none to any grammar, as Crichton's Dillmann or Mercer's, to mention only those which are written in English. We think that no book dealing with the subject, however briefly, should dismiss the labors of those great scholars in this field, Ludolf and Dillmann, with a mere passing notice. Dillmann's *Lexicon*, which after sixty years is still adequate and, apart, possibly, from Lane's Arabic, the only satisfactory Lexicon of any Semitic language, surely deserved mention. Among other important works left unnoticed we will mention only a few: Grohmann's *Marienhymnen*, Zotenberg's *Catalogue*, Schmidt's *Gespräche Jesu* (a book of eight hundred pages), Dowling's *The Abyssinian Church*, Horner's *Statutes of the Apostles*, Mercer's *Ethiopic Liturgy* and his translations of the Anaphoras which have been published in this Journal, the periodical *Aethiops*, and several of the works of Budge. In connection with the last, by the way, why change the title of his *Contendings of the Apostles*? Sir Wallis may be an incompetent Ethiopic scholar (we do not think he is), but, after all, that is the title of his work. References are made to the series *Patrologia Orientalis* and *C.S.C.O.*, but no indication of the scope of these is given to help the general reader to find them. Passing references are made to important works without the full title, place or date of publication, except in the case of the lives of the saints. There is neither index nor bibliography. In view of the very limited space, the account of the literature proper beginning on page 19, there is also disproportion in several places, e.g., four pages are given to extracts from and a summary of the life of one of the many saints, Lâlibalâ (pp. 75-79); we find also rather frequent references to the "Enquiries" of Zar'a Yâ'qob and of Walda Heywat, finally seven pages (92-99) are devoted to them exclusively.

We still need a work which will complete and bring up-to-date Littman's sketch; that this need will not long be left unsatisfied we may infer from the announcement that an *Encyclopédie éthiopienne*, from the thoroughly competent hand of Conti Rossini, is in the press and will appear in the Summer of 1927.

F. H. HALLOCK

Die Anaphora des monophysitischen Patriarchen Jôhannân I. Herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann Fuchs. Aschendorff, Münster in Westfalen, 1926.

The author of this exceedingly interesting little book reminds us in a brief historical introduction of the birth and spread of Monophysitism, and, at the same time, traces the growth of the Jerusalem Liturgy into what we may call the standard Syriac St. James Liturgy. He touches on the further development of a large number of Anaphoras, offshoots of the standard Liturgy, and of varying authenticity and interest. The purpose of the book is then disclosed, viz. to discover the significance of the Anaphora of the Patriarch Jôhannân, by determining its relationship to Jacobite Anaphora-Literature as a whole.

Section I is a study of the standard St. James Anaphora in its relation to more primitive oriental forms, with particular reference to the Clementine Anaphora. Each integral part of the Anaphora is taken up in order and in detail. Distinctive features and tendencies are brought to light. On the one hand traces of antiquity, and on the other, evidences of development, peculiar to the St. James Anaphora are pointed out. Here, as throughout the book, the author is seen to be a master of the fundamental principles of Liturgics, and to possess marked aptitude in applying them.

The second section of the book deals with the numerous offspring of the standard Anaphora. Texts spurious, and texts, apparently genuine; texts ascribed to Syrian authors, and texts bearing the names of non-Syrians; texts, Syriac in their origin, and texts derived from Greek predecessors; all are painstakingly studied in their mutual bearings, in their peculiarities, and in their dependence, more or less pronounced, on the standard formula. This whole section forms such a comprehensive picture of the development of liturgical texts in the Jacobite church, that the author is now in a position to assign to its proper place in this development, the Anaphora of the Patriarch Jôhannân I. This he does briefly in Section III.

There is a cursory note on the life and literary remains of the Patriarch. The three known mss. of the Anaphora (viz. The Berlin, the Leiden and the Vatican) are described, and their respective merits discussed. The Anaphora is collated with the standard formula, and with its descendents, and the author offers his conclusions. The Anaphora, which, in his opinion, is of considerable historic value, is Syriac in origin. Its prototype is the

standard St. James, though the author has made use of an intimate acquaintance with Greek texts. Finally, the author defends the authenticity of the Anaphora.

The text, edited by the author, is that of the Berlin ms. The variant readings of the Leiden and Vatican mss. are found in the annotations. There is a good German translation, a list of the Syriac words and word-combinations occurring in the text, and a good bibliography. This is a valuable contribution to the science of liturgics. The author is thorough and methodical, and arrives at judgments carefully. His style is interesting and lucid. The book is indispensable to the student of Monophysite Liturgies, and is indeed well worth the careful perusal of liturgical scholars in general.

H. K. COLEMAN

Orientalia Hamburgensia. Festgabe den Teilnehmern am 4. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Hamburg, 28. September bis 2. Oktober 1926, überreicht von der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek. Hamburg, 1926, pp. 96. Mk. 4.50.

This is an interesting account of the Oriental Congress held in Hamburg last year. Besides a full description of manuscripts, &c., exhibited, there are two interesting articles, one by Lüdtké on "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," and the other by Müller on "Der Dobrudscha-Bote."

S. A. B. M.

Land Tenure in the Ancient Orient. By A. T. Olmstead.

In this reprint from the American Historical Review, Volume 32, Oct. 1926, Professor Olmstead finds the source of the serf estate in the ancient Orient, but he does not think that the manorial system was altogether typical of the ancient Orient, for no simple formula at present known, will explain the whole development of land tenure in the ancient Orient.

S. A. B. M.

Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon. Par F. Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1912, pp. 87, pls. XXX. Fr. 75.

Attention is hereby called to this great work by M. Thureau-Dangin. The publication of this important text, its transliteration and translation by one of the greatest living Assyriologists is well known to all scholars.

S. A. B. M.

Makan und Meluhha, Kummuh, Kûta, Manda-Horden, Meder, Meer.
Von Otto Schroeder.

These are up-to-date articles from the pen of Dr. Schroeder on these interesting words, which are published in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin.

S. A. B. M.

Die Stellung der Frau in der vorgriechischen Mittelmeerkultur. Von Ernst Kornemann. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1927, pp. 59. Mk. 3. *Orient und Antike*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser und O. Regenbogen.

The place of woman in the ancient Nearer Orient is exemplified by the relationship between man and woman among the Semites, where man is always "lord" of the woman. Nevertheless, a good deal of independence developed among some Semitic people as well as among the Egyptians. Dr. Kornemann's lecture now in printed form is an excellent treatment of this interesting subject.

S. A. B. M.

Le mystère du langage, les sons primitifs et leurs évolutions. By C. Callet. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926, pp. 102.

The author of this book makes a laudable attempt to study the paleology of linguistics. He takes up words of various languages and finds common elements of universal roots and formative elements. The method is hardly convincing.

J. A. M.

« *Un hymne à Ištar de la haute époque babylonienne* », « *Une lettre de l'époque de la dynastie d'Agadé* », « *Notes assyriologiques* ». Par F. Thureau-Dangin.

Attention is hereby called to three important articles by M. Thureau-Dangin, which appeared in volumes XXII No. 4 and XXIII Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Revue d'Assyriologie*.

S. A. B. M.

Exegetische Beiträge. Von Samuel Grünberg. Berlin: Verlag des Jeschurun. II. Folge, 1925; III. Folge, 1926.

These two little pamphlets are devoted to an exegetical and critical study of a series of very interesting biblical texts, such as, Is. 3 : 10; Hosea 2 : 2; Ps. 56 : 9. Special use has been made of Talmudic comments. The student of the Old Testament will find much in these little books of great interest and importance.

S. A. B. M.

Die Psalmen. Von Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1926, 6. und 7. Lieferung. Je Mk. 3.

These two parts complete Gunkel's great commentary on the Psalms in the famous Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. No Old Testament student can be without this exhaustive and suggestive commentary.

S. A. B. M.

Die Religionen der Griechen. Von Martin P. Nilsson. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1927, pp. 96. Mk. 4.50. *Die Religion der Römer und der Synkretismus der Kaiserzeit.* Von Kurt Latte. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1927, pp. 94. Mk. 4.30. Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch, 2., erweiterte Auflage, herausgegeben von A. Bertholet, Heft 4 und 5.

This is a second and enlarged edition of these two books. The texts have been translated afresh with some additions. They are of prime importance for students of Greek and Roman religion.

S. A. B. M.

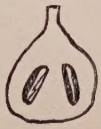
Buddha und Jesus in ihren Paralleltexten. Von J. B. Aufhauser. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1926, pp. 30. Mk. 1.60.

This is one of the most useful of the *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, edited by Lietzmann. No New Testament student will fail to be interested in it.

S. A. B. M.

Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine, publiés par la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie sous les auspices de Sa Majesté Fouad I^{er} Roi d'Égypte. Tome premier. EV. BRECCIA, 1. Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo, 2. Teadelfia e il templo di Pniferôs. (Officine dell'Istituto Italiano d'arti grafiche.) Bergamo, 1926.

Evaristo Breccia, einer der besten Kenner Ägyptens der griechisch-römischen Epoche und Direktor des Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, hat uns in dem ersten bis jetzt vorliegenden Prachtband der *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* ein Werk geschenkt, das gewiß von allen Ägypten-Freunden gleich herzlich aufgenommen werden wird. Der 133 Seiten umfassende Text zerfällt in zwei Hauptteile. Im ersteren (S. 9–83) bespricht Breccia die Ruinen und Denkmäler des alten Kanopus, wo die Alexandriner einstens wüste Orgien zu feiern pflegten, während uns der zweite Hauptteil ins Faijûm zu den Trümmern der alten Ortschaft Theadelphia (heute Harît) sowie zum Tempel des Pnepherôs führt (S. 87–129). Der erste Hauptabschnitt gliedert sich in folgende Kapitel: 1. Ubicazione e cenni storici. —

Divinità adorate a Canopo. — Il culto cristiano. 2. Descrizione delle rovine attualmente visibili. 3. Antichità provenienti da Canopo. In diesem dritten Kapitel werden Inschriften, Architekturfragmente, Skulpturen, Terrakotten, Tonlampen, Keramik, verschiedene Kleinfunde und Mosaik behandelt. Auch der zweite Hauptteil zerfällt in drei Unterabschnitte: 1. Teadelfia. Sguardo generale alle rovine e cenni storici. 2. Il tempio di Pnerfös. 3. Ritrovamenti isolati. — Es steht mir nicht der Raum zu einer eingehenden Besprechung zur Verfügung. Zu S. 81–83 „Mosaici“ sei es mir nur gestattet, auf ein in deutschem Privatbesitz befindliches unpubliziertes Mosaik mit der Darstellung von Fischen, Vögeln, Gefäßen und Früchten hinzuweisen.¹ Unter den Früchten lassen sich zwei bestimmen, nämlich ein beblätterter Zweig mit drei Granatäpfeln und drei einzelne Früchte dieser Form. Der wenigstens seit der 18. Dynastie in Ägypten bekannte Granatapfelbaum ist kein spezifisch ägyptisches Gewächs, dagegen beweist die Frucht, deren Skizze ich nebenstehend gebe, daß das Mosaik nur in Ägypten entstanden sein kann. Es handelt sich nämlich um angeschnittene Sykomorenfeigen. In Ägypten hat man zu allen Zeiten die auf dem Baume sitzenden Früchte von *Ficus Sycomorus* L. angeschnitten oder angeritzt, um die in ihnen nistenden Insekten sterben und die Frucht zu Wohlgeschmack und Süße gelangen zu lassen. Aus der pharaonischen Epoche sind viele Darstellungen von Sykomorenfrüchten bekannt, die zweifellos diese Einschnitte zeigen; z. B. Sykomorenfeigen dieser Form . Die auf dem erwähnten Mosaik abgebildeten, deutlich angeschnittenen Sykomorenfrüchte beweisen also ebenso seine ägyptische Herkunft wie die etwa in persischer Zeit in Ägypten eingeführte *Nelumbo nucifera* (= *Nelumbium speciosum*), die wir von dem Palestrina-Mosaik und einigen anderen Mosaik-Darstellungen kennen.

Dem interessanten Text, in dem der Verfasser große Sachkenntnis, Belesenheit und sicheres Urteil beweist, folgen 86 Tafeln (darunter zwei herrliche Farbentafeln). Auch sie verdienen uneingeschränktes Lob. An der ganzen äußeren Ausstattung ersieht man, daß sich das Werk der königlichen Huld Fuad I. von Ägypten erfreut hat. Es berührt deshalb sympathisch, wenn Breccia den ersten Band der *Monuments*, dem hoffentlich bald ein zweiter folgen wird, dem kunstsinnigen König widmete.²

z. Zt. Lyon (Rhône), Juni 1927.

LUDWIG KEIMER

¹ Das Mosaik befindet sich heute im Besitz Seiner Durchlaucht des Fürsten zu Isenburg-Birstein, Schloß Birstein (Hessen-Nassau). Die Herkunft des Stückes ist unbekannt. Wahrscheinlich wurde es im 18. Jahrhundert von einem Mitglied des fürstlichen Hauses in Italien erworben.

² Vergleiche noch *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, Nr. 22 (1926), *Notiziario*, p. 4 und 5 (des „Extrait“).

At the concluding meeting of the XVIth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Athens in 1912, it was agreed that the next Congress should be held in OXFORD. Having obtained the assent of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and the approval of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the leading Oriental Societies in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and in America, the members of the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University are making arrangements for holding the XVIIth Congress here during the week beginning Monday, August 27th, 1928.

S. A. B. M.

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